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BASIC MATERIALS IN RITHARNGU:  
GRAMMAR, TEXTS AND DICTIONARY

by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF  
THE SOUTH PACIFIC



# RITHARNGU GRAMMAR

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. General

It is well-known that the Yuulngu languages of northeastern Arnhem Land are genetically distant from the adjacent prefixing languages, but are fairly closely related to languages in Central Australia and the Western Desert.

The Yuulngu have exogamous patrimoieties, *yiriča* and *du:wa*. There are also more than forty patrilineal clans sometimes called *maḵa*. These are usually not subsistence units, but are ideologically conspicuous and have ritual significance. In the native view, each *maḵa* has its own dialect, although this often conflicts with the linguist's views. Patrilineal units smaller than the *maḵa* are referred to by anthropologists as *ba:puru* or *mala* (these two sometimes being distinguished from each other as well), but in the native languages neither of these terms is used in a strict sense (*mala*, for example, may mean simply *group*). These smaller groups are usually named, and may correspond (so far as the male core is concerned) with subsistence units during part of the yearly cycle, but are not of great ideological importance.

The genetic position of languages around Nangalala, such as *Djinba* and *Djinang*, is not yet clear. Leaving these aside, we can divide the Yuulngu family into seven (or eight) languages. The usual basis for this is differences in the word for *this*. The languages called *Duwal*, *Duwala*, *Ḍay?yi*, *Ḍa:ṇu*, *Dja:ṇu*, and *Ḍa:ṇu* are thus named after their proximate demonstrative (*ḍuwal*, *ḍuwala*, etc.). Another group, *Duwaya* (from *ḍuwaya? this*) has not been noticed before; it includes a portion of the *Maḍarpa maḵa* (another group of which speaks *Ritharngu*). It appears that *Duwaya* is very close to *Duwala*, though I have not investigated either of these languages.

The remaining Yuulngu language, the one furthest to the south and southwest, is the subject of this volume. Although its word for *this* is *yaku(y)*, for some reason this is not used as a language name. The people who speak the language have no general term for their own language; the answer to 'What language does he speak?' is usually given with a *maṭa* (clan) term, hence 'He speaks Maḍarpa' or the like. (Recall that each *maṭa* is thought to have its own dialect.)

Each language in the Yuulngu group includes one or more *maṭa* groups, except that Duwaya appears to include just part of one *maṭa*. On the average, each language covers about five *maṭa* groups. The language we are concerned with here includes the following: the part of the Maḍarpa *maṭa* referred to as *mala-barčaray* (literally *people of a paperbark tree sp.*); the Bunaṇačini *maṭa* (very small now); a *maṭa* with two subgroups (Buwarpuwar and Miṇingiri), both very small, sometimes considered two separate *maṭa* groups; the fairly large Wa:gilak *maṭa*; a large *maṭa* called either Riṭarṇu or Biḍiṇal. A group called Mangura are problematic in that it is not certain whether they are to be assigned to this language, or to the Nunggubuyu language to the south, since they are bilingual and to some extent bicultural; since the oldest man in the group, Baḷaman, told me his father spoke mainly Nunggubuyu I will assign it to that language.

The Mangura and Wa:gilak are in the *ḍu:wa* moiety, the others are *yiriča*. Even if the Mangura are included, the *yiriča* population is larger than the *ḍu:wa* within this language group, and if the Mangura are not included the discrepancy is large. This is not unusual; the Duwal language group, not far to the north and northeast, consists entirely of *ḍu:wa* groups. Languages in this area show little tendency toward endogamy, either in ideology or practice.

I will refer to this language as Ritharngu, although this is, strictly, a name for one of the *maṭa* groups.<sup>1</sup> The justification for this is that many adjoining language groups refer to the entire language group as Ritharngu, and it is as good as a term as any.

The term *ḍiyakuy* (or *Tiyakkuy*) has been used by some other scholars for this language, but my informants did not recognise the term and it is not the correct form for *this* in the language. See Schebeck (1976-a), fn. 1.

<sup>1</sup>I will use the transcription Riṭarṇu for the *maṭa* also called Biḍiṇal, and the transcription Ritharngu for the language as a whole.



Compared to many other languages in the Northern Territory, Ritharngu is still quite viable. It is spoken by reasonably substantial groups at Ngukurr (Roper River) and Lake Evella, as well as a number of outstations. Children seem to be learning the language well in most cases, although at Ngukurr many of them now speak English (in creole form) among themselves. I have been in contact with only a small part of the Ritharngu-speaking population, and government estimates are extremely unreliable because of the way people are assigned to 'tribes', but I would say that the number of people for whom Ritharngu is the principal (Aboriginal) language would be at least three hundred and probably larger.

The Ritharngu are doing remarkably well in preserving their camp songs (*buṅgul*) and ritual life. Some of my own informants not only carry out their own normal rituals, but are in great demand and frequently travel as far south as Elliott to perform rituals at the invitation of other Aboriginal groups.

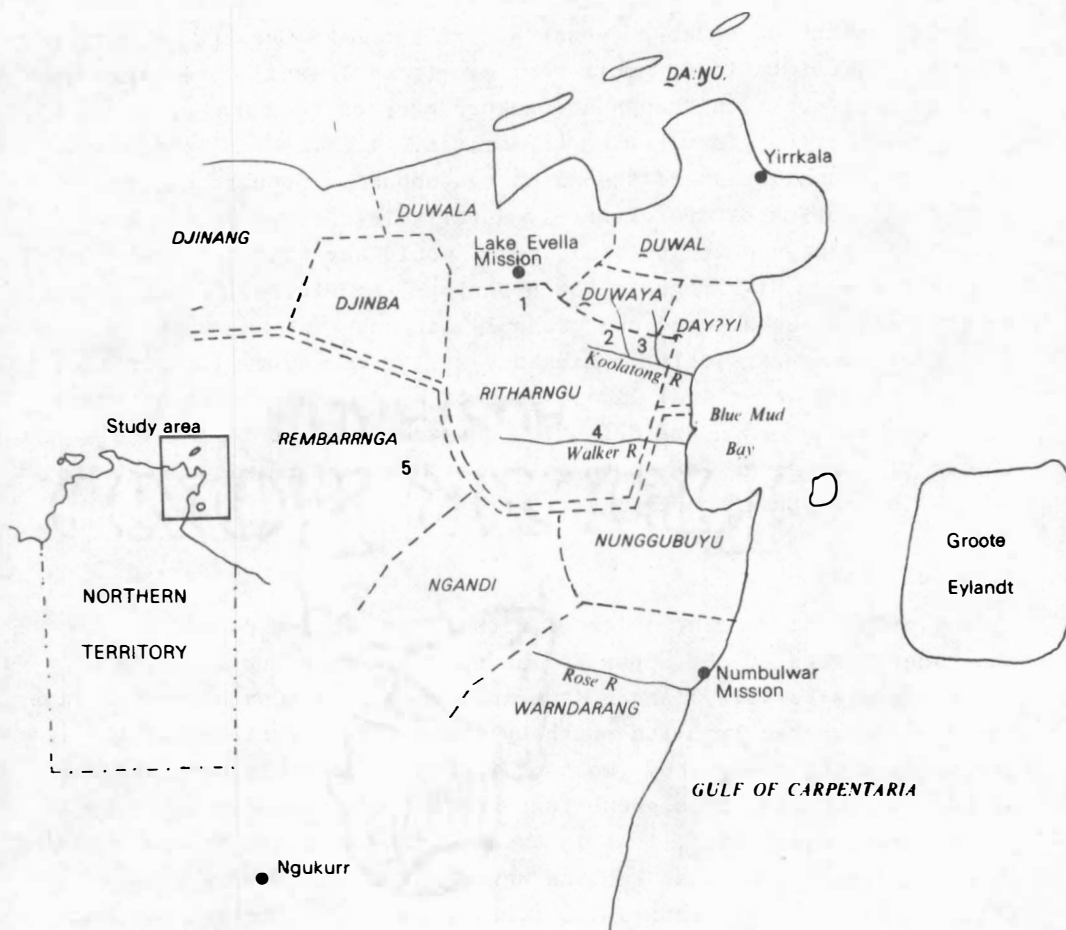
## 1.2. Geography

The principal concentration of Ritharngu-speaking people was in the general area of the upper Koolatong river (see Map 1). The Maḍarpa (*mala-barčaray*) and Bunaṇačini owned territory along the river, but were separated from its mouth by the coastal territory of the *Ḍayʔyi*-speaking Nuṇuḍulbuy (most of whom have recently been absorbed by the Nunggubuyu); this group is sometimes considered a subgroup of the Maḍarpa *maṣa* (which, in this event, includes three groups speaking three different languages - Ritharngu, *Ḍayʔyi*, and *Duwaya*). The Riṭarṇu (*Biḍiṇal*) own land a bit further to the northeast, beginning at the place *ḍu:ñji* (*Doindji*). They are in contact with the Djinba, among other language groups.

South of the Koolatong, and running parallel to it, is the Walker river, the mouth of which is occupied by the Mangura. Further up the river we find the territory of the Buwarpuwar/*Minṇigiri*, and still further inland that of the Wa:gilak.

Aside from various Yuulngu languages to the north, the Ritharngu have been in contact with several prefixing languages to the south and west. The closest contact (socially) seems to have been with the Ngandi; the Rembarrnga were also important. Contact with the Nunggubuyu seems to have been a little less significant, partly because of traditional enmity between the two.

As the map shows, the Ritharngu are basically an inland rather than a coastal people, though they are close enough to the coast to



- Language boundary
- ===== Boundary between Yuulngu and prefixing languages
- 1 Biḍiṇal (Riṭarṇu) maṭa
  - 2 Maḍarpa maṭa (mala-barḇaray subgroup)
  - 3 Bunarḇaḇini maṭa
  - 4 Buwarpuwar/ Miṇṇigiri maṭa
  - 5 Waḡilak maṭa

have a few terms for coastal trees, marine turtles, and the like (some of which have ritual significance for them).

It is no longer possible to study traditional demographic patterns. The usual pattern in the area was that large groups, roughly corresponding to language groups, would assemble in one area for most of the latter part of the dry season, and that these would break up into smaller subsistence units during the wet season and the early dry season when marshes were flooded. It is possible, however, that the Ritharngu language group was too big to regularly assemble *in toto*, so that there may have been two or more groups which habitually congregated, or perhaps the patterns were flexible so that the composition of the dry-season congregations varied from one year to another. At any rate, the major ritual performances were generally held in large congregations rather than in small, isolated units.

### 1.3. Fieldwork

Most of the fieldwork was done at Numbulwar Mission (on the mouth of the Rose river) in late 1973 and early 1974; brief follow-up work was done at Ngukurr in late 1976. My first informant was Dangi (Baḍikan), a young Maḍarpa man from whom I obtained chiefly vocabulary. I then obtained about an hour of very short myths from his father, Willy (Munuma). These were transcribed and partly analysed with Dangi's help, but since they are regarded as (mildly) secret they are not reproduced here.

Old Nancy (Maḍarpa maṭa) then became my principal informant for a period. She was an enthusiastic collaborator and much of my vocabulary (including flora-fauna) was obtained from her.

Additionally, several old people then at Numbulwar provided texts: Woodcutter (Wa:gilak maṭa), Ruby (very old, Maḍarpa maṭa), and Gaḷčina (Biḍiṇal). Many of these texts appear in this volume.

Later my principal informant became Goliath (Manbalṇu, of the Maḍarpa maṭa), younger brother of Willy. He was used for vocabulary and grammatical elicitation.

A couple of myths were obtained from the man Baṇjar (of the Buwarpuwar/Minṇṇigiri maṭa). These are not reproduced here since they may be considered secret by some (though he himself, in Nunggubuyu fashion, regarded them as public).

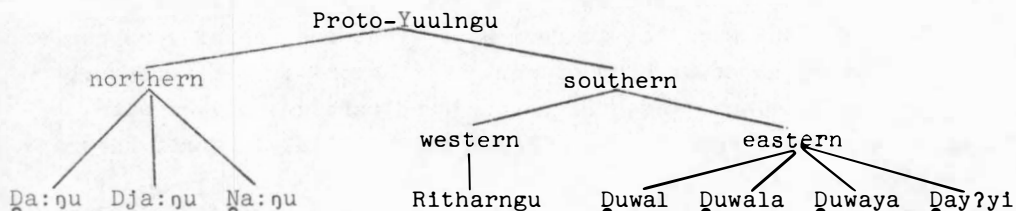
In the 1976 session, several new texts dealing with kinship and some other topics were obtained from Willy, and some residual grammatical problems were cleared up in sessions with him. (His brother, Goliath, had unexpectedly died in late 1975.)

In addition, to the linguistic research as such, a considerable amount of camp singing (*buṅgul*) and some semi-public ritual singing (*maḍayin*) has been recorded and transcribed from members of the Maḍarpa, Biḍiṅal, Wa:gilak, and Buwarpuwar/Miṅiṅgiri maḍa groups. It is hoped that this can be published in another volume. In general, the language of the *buṅgul* songs appears to be a more northerly Yuulngu language, perhaps *Ḍuwala*, to judge by case-suffix allomorphs and so forth.

All fieldwork was funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

#### 1.4. The Genetic Position of Ritharngu

At the present time my knowledge of other Yuulngu languages is limited to fairly considerable fieldwork on *Ḍuwal*, and inspection of unpublished paradigmatic material on most of the languages by B. Schebeck. This is not enough to establish the genetic relationships clearly, but I can give the following tentative subgrouping diagram:



That is, Ritharngu belongs in a group, including *Ḍuwal* and the other southern Yuulngu languages, but is somewhat divergent from the other languages in this subgroup.

One difficulty is that the numerous respects in which Ritharngu disagrees with languages like *Ḍuwal* are in many cases due to diffusional pressures on Ritharngu from prefixing languages like Ngandi and Rembarrnga. In other words, Ritharngu may simply have undergone an accelerated rate of change under external influences, and it may be incorrect to posit its early genetic separation from the rest of the southern Yuulngu group. Therefore the subgrouping scheme shown above must not be taken as definitive, or even as my own final 'position' on the matter. Additional complications will appear when languages to the northeast, like *Djinba* and *Djinang* are brought into consideration.

### 1.5. Previous Research on the Language

Dr Capell's general articles on Arnhem Land languages include a bit of material on Ritharngu (Capell 1942-43:40-45).

Some work on the Yuulngu languages, notably Ḍa:ṇu, has been recently published by B. Schebeck (1976a, 1976b), but in many respects Ritharngu diverges from the Ḍa:ṇu syntactic patterns he describes and thus Schebeck's work is to be used with caution so far as Ritharngu (his Tiyakkuy) is concerned.

Some information on Ritharngu has been published by the present writer (Heath 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1976d), but the somewhat sparse material on Ritharngu in these papers is also included in this volume.

Aside from this meager material, there is no published study of Ritharngu known to me, and the present volume will have to serve - if not as a definitive work - at least as the basis for subsequent theoretical and pedagogical research on this language.

## CHAPTER TWO

### PHONOLOGY

#### 2.1. Phonemes

Table 2-1 shows the phonemes of the language.

Stop oppositions of the fortis/lenis type are manifested phonetically by duration, tenseness, and often by voicing. Intervocally after short vowel, duration is an important cue since the fortis stops are noticeably longer than the lenis ones (Schebeck and some others have consequently experimented with a geminate/simple phonological analysis). However, intervocally after long vowel, the fortis stops are not noticeably longer than the lenis ones, and the principal difference to my ears is voicing and general tenseness. Lenis stops in this position, while usually not reduced to fricatives, are rather weakly articulated. There are a fair number of morphemes where lenis *g* or *b* are optionally reduced to *w*, and others where *j* can be reduced to *y*, though such lenition is not regular. Syllable-initially following a sonorant, voicing and tenseness rather than duration are again the principal cues for the opposition.

The glottal stop is common in syllable-final position. It almost always occurs morpheme-finally, though there are a handful of exceptions. The glottal stop is not predictable and must be indicated in dictionary entries.

There is a trace in Ritharngu of secondary glottalisation. The clitic particle *ya*, when given a little stylistic stress in prepausal position, was sometimes heard clearly as *yaʔ*. This phenomenon was observed with no other morphemes.

The vowels *e* and *o* are essentially foreign to the Ritharngu phonemic system, though they are common in Ngandi, Rembarrnga, etc. Most loanwords from these languages have been reshaped to suit Ritharngu vocalic phonology, so that *o* becomes *a* or *u* and *e* becomes

TABLE 2-1  
Phonemes

Consonants	bilabial	inter- dental	apico- alveolar	retroflexed	lamino- alveolar	velar
stop(lenis)	b	ɖ	d	ɖ̠	j	g
stop(fortis)	p	t̪	t	ʈ̠	č	k
nasal	m	n̪	n	ɳ̠	ɲ	ŋ
lateral			l	ɭ̠		
semivowels:	y, w					
glottal stop:	ʔ					
rhotics:	r (apicoalveolar flap), ɽ̠ (retroflexed glide)					
Vowels	u, u:	i, i:				
	a, a:					
	(rarely also e and o loanwords)					

a or i. Where my informants fluctuated between reshaped and un-reshaped pronunciations of such words, I generally use the reshaped form in the dictionary; most of the older informants are good to fluent speakers of Ngandi and/or Rembarrnga and I felt that the un-reshaped pronunciation was due to direct borrowing. However, a few stems consistently show e or o in Ritharngu, e.g. the subsection terms *gela* and *gojok*.

In the environments V\_\_C and V\_\_# (# is a word-boundary) it is difficult to distinguish *wu* from *w* and *yi* from *y*, although I think that these distinctions do exist. For example, it has been difficult to decide whether the Potential suffix in verb class 6 is *-wu* or *-w*; I will write it as *-wu*. I usually heard the third singular pronoun as *ɲay* rather than *ɲayi*, and indeed a further reduction to *ɲa* is also found.

Vowel-length is phonemic in certain environments, hence contrast *ba:pa* *father* with *ɲapa* *backbone* and so forth. In addition to phonemic long vowels, in narratives one finds an occasional instance of stylistic lengthening, indicated in my transcriptions by three colons, as in *gari?-gari:::-ø* *all enter*. This narrative device is, however, much less common than in Nunggubuyu narratives.



## 2.2. Some Co-occurrence Restrictions

I will not attempt an exhaustive treatment of consonant clusters here, and will merely give some general remarks about co-occurrence possibilities. Most of the comments made about consonant clusters in my Ngandi grammar will apply to Ritharngu as well.

As noted above, the glottal stop occurs only in syllable-final position. It is very common at the end of class 5 verb roots, which can often be used without suffixes in 'root forms', e.g. *baŋgu!*? *return*, as well as in extended combinations like Future *baŋgu!*?-*yu*-*ru* with class 5 thematising augment (here -*yu*-) and a tense suffix. Glottal stops are also common in other Yuulngu languages such as *Day?yi* in such roots. Many nouns also end in ?, e.g. *wa!an?* *hill coolibah tree*, *du:ku?* *paperbark tree sp.* (contrast *du:ku vainly*). These glottal stops may follow vowels or sonorants (nasals, liquids, rhotics, semivowels). Glottals within stems are rare; an example is *miñ?ji* *painted design*. Stem-internal glottals are more common in other Yuulngu languages, thus contrast Ritharngu *manjar?* *leaf* with *Day?yi* and *Duwal* *man?jar* *leaf*.

A few suffixes like Negative -*?may?* and -*?ŋiri?* *only, still* begin in a glottal followed by a consonant. The glottal is pronounced as part of the preceding syllable. Historically such glottals may well be junctural phenomena. Indeed, since nearly all glottals in the language occur directly before or after a morpheme-boundary we may suspect that they are all ultimately junctural. However, a synchronic analysis treating them as secondary is unsatisfactory since many stems do not end in glottals, and even as a strictly historical analysis there are many problems in pinning down the exact conditions for adding glottals.

There is apparently no difference between fortis stops and geminates (or perhaps we should say homorganic stop-stop clusters), e.g. between *td* and *t* or *kg* and *k*. Phonetic fortis stops will be transcribed in the simpler fashion (*t*, *k*, etc.), except when morpheme-boundaries intervene as in *bu!uk-gu* *of the feather*.

Fortis and lenis stops are distinct only in the environments *V\_\_V* and *VS\_\_V*, where *S* is a nonnasal sonorant (liquid or semivowel). After *!*, for example, we have a *k/g* opposition as in *wa!kara* *fish sp.* vs. *ma!ga* *dillybag*. For intervocalic position compare *bugu* *travelling* with *buku* *face, forehead*. The fortis/lenis contrast is neutralised following stops, nasals, or *?*, word-initially, and in syllable-final position. The single series which occurs in these environments will be transcribed as fortis syllable-finally and as lenis in neutralising



syllable-initial position, hence *biličbilič* *red-winged parrot*, not \**pilijpili*, \**piličpilič*, or \**bilijbili*.

The adverb *lili* *this way* was heard as having an initial apico-alveolar consonant. With this exception, all initial apicals were heard as retroflexed rather than apicoalveolar. In general, then, the two are neutralised into a single series initially. I was similarly unable to hear any difference between the two after consonants, except for postvocalic *ʔ* and postvocalic semivowels. In my transcriptions I write initial apicals as retroflexed, except in the case of *lili*. In neutralising postconsonantal position I write apicals as apicoalveolar, except where there is clear evidence that the apical is an underlying retroflexed consonant. This is the case, for example, in reduplications like *!up-!up-u-na* *bathed*. Another exception is the closely-knit homorganic cluster *ŋd*.

Following postvocalic *ʔ* I heard the difference between retroflexed and apicoalveolar consonants. In *!aʔ!a* *metal axe*, the first vowel ends with an *ɾ*-coloured off-glide such as one characteristically finds before retroflexed consonants, hence phonetically *!aʔʔ!a*. On the other hand, in *ɖabaɖabaʔ-na* (short for *ɖabaɖabaʔ-yu-na*) *said no*, the preglottal *a* has no such off-glide. I believe that the two apical series can also contrast after postvocalic *y* and *w*. However, while examples of phonetic *yn* and *wn* can be easily found by adding Past *-na* to class 5 stems ending in *y* or *w* (omitting the class 5 augment *-yu-*), I have no clear examples of *yŋ* or *wŋ*. Such an example could possibly be created by adding the prefix *ɾay-~yay-* to a verb beginning in a retroflexed consonant, but the prefix is rather restricted in its co-occurrence with verb stems and the crucial example is unavailable.

Retroflexed consonants like *ɭ* are distinct from clusters like *ɾɭ* (the latter occurs only at boundaries, as in *ɳumbulwar-ɭiʔ* *to Numbulwar*).

Interdental consonants occur only prevocally.

Long vowels are distinguishable from short ones only in the initial syllable of words. Examples of long vowels are *ɖa:ra-* *to stand*, *ɳi:na-* *to sit*, *ma:ra-* *to get*, *ba:ɣay* *south*, and *ba:pa* *father*. Long vowels occur before at least some clusters: *ɳa:ŋdi* *mother*, *bu:ʔ-yu-na* *blew*. On occasion I thought I had heard a noninitial long vowel, or at least an unexpected noninitial stress, but in the final pronunciation checks (mostly with the informant Goliath) I heard no consistent examples of noninitial length or irregular stress. (As these comments suggest, stress is normally on word-initial syllables.) When a stem with initial long vowel becomes noninitial due to

prefixing or compounding, the long vowel is shortened by rule P-1 to be described below.

I do not think there are any clear cases of geminated consonants (unless fortis stops are analysed as geminates), but I may be wrong on this point. The noun *yalu nest* was originally heard as *yallu*. I also originally transcribed *ɖumuru big* as *ɖummuru*, and several CVCV stems with medial retroflexed *ŋ* or *ɭ* (e.g. *gaŋa mangrove*, *juɭu lancewood*) as having *ɽɽ* or *ɭɭ*. I now think that the simpler transcriptions are correct, and that the tendency to lengthen the consonants phonetically is a low-level phenomenon without phonemic implications. Note that the consonants affected are all intervocalic nasals or liquids, and all follow short vowels in initial syllables (i.e. follow short stressed vowels). However, further research on this matter may force me to resurrect my earlier transcriptions.

### 2.3. Vowel-shortening

A number of phonological rules must be formulated to link base forms to surface representations. The first of these rules, P-1, shortens underlying long vowels in noninitial syllables:

P-1 Vowel-shortening

$V \rightarrow [-\text{long}] // VC^* \_\_\_$

where  $C^*$  represents one or more consonants and does not include a word-boundary (it may include a morpheme-boundary)

For example, *ɖa:ra- to stand* is used in a number of compounds as a sort of auxiliary verb, e.g. *ɖumɖum?-ɖara- to bend over*. Note the shortening of the /a:/ to a. The same shortening occurs in the reduplicated form *ɖa:ra?-ɖara- all to stand*.

There is also a tendency to shorten long vowels in words of three syllables or more. It is very difficult to pin down the exact conditions for this, since there seems to be fluctuation between different pronunciations depending partly on whether the speaker is pronouncing words carefully or is rattling them off in a text.

For example, *ya:ra thief* is clearly shortened in *yara-mara- to steal*. In reduplicated *ɖa:ra?-ɖara- all to stand*, mentioned above, I sometimes heard *ɖara?-ɖara-* where the initial segment as well as the second had undergone Vowel-shortening. CV:- verbs such as *ɖa:- to see* had phonetically shorter vowels in multisyllabic combinations like *ɖa(:)-wala saw* than in bisyllabic ones like *ɖa:-ŋu will see*.

Another problem is that long vowels tend to be shortened before many consonant clusters. Thus, while I heard ja:l *desirous* as having a long vowel, in the combination ja(:)l- $\xi$ i- with Inchoative - $\xi$ i- I was not so sure.

As a result of these difficulties, my transcriptions are not entirely consistent as far as vowel length is concerned in the problematic environments, and readers should be cautious.

#### 2.4. Fortis/Lenis Rules

In addition to the redundancy rules described informally in 2.2., there are a few rules needed to account for fortis/lenis alternations. For example, there are case suffixes like Progressive -kuru? which begin in an underlying fortis stop, seen for example in mulmu-kuru? *through the grass*. Contrast Genitive-Dative -gu with lenis g, as in mulmu-gu *of/for the grass*. However, the fortis/lenis contrast is neutralised after nasals, stops, and ?, so when such suffixes are added to stems ending in these consonants we need a rule converting the fortis stops into lenis ones: maya $\eta$ -guru? *along the river* and maya $\eta$ -gu *of/for the river*.

##### P-2 Postconsonantal Lenition

$$\text{Stop} \rightarrow [-\text{fortis}] // \left. \begin{array}{c} \text{Nasal} \\ \text{Stop} \\ ? \end{array} \right\} \text{---}$$

There is also a minor morphophonemic rule which hardens /y/ to j and /r/ to d. This rule affects only the enclitic particle ya and the reduced form ra- of first singular pronoun  $\eta$ ara-. The hardening occurs when these elements directly follow a word ending in a nasal or stop, with or without an intervening ?. Examples of /ya/ becoming ja are yuwalk + ja, wa $\lambda$ an? + ja, and maya $\eta$  + ja, with yuwalk *game animal*, wa $\lambda$ an? *hill coolibah*, and maya $\eta$  *river*. A final ? not preceded by a stop or nasal does not cause this hardening, hence  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{g}}\text{u:ku?} + \text{ya}$ , not \* $\underset{\cdot}{\text{g}}\text{u:ku?} + \text{ja}$ , with  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{g}}\text{u:ku?}$  *paperbark tree sp.*

Hardening of ra- to da- is rare in my corpus of Ritharngu materials, since the reduction of  $\eta$ ara- to ra- is avoided after stops and nasals (with or without intervening ?). Therefore *my meat* is normally wa:yin +  $\eta$ ara-ku rather than contracted wa:yin + da-ku from /wa:yin + ra-ku/. The reduced form was common only in the material obtained from Dangi, a relatively young informant. When the preceding word ends in something other than a stop or nasal, the reduction of  $\eta$ ara-

to ra- was common with all informants: gapu + ra-ku *my water*.

### P-3 Hardening of Nonstops

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} y \rightarrow j \\ r \rightarrow d \end{array} \right\} // \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Stop} \\ \text{Nasal} \end{array} \right\} (?) \text{ —}$$

(applies only to the particle ya and the first singular pronoun)

There are a number of stems which show sporadic lenition of a lenis stop to a semivowel. Thus jibuk-u- *to go fishing* has a variant jiwuk-u-; other examples are marja?-ḡi-~marya?-ḡi- *to be hungry* and gubaḡku~guwaḡku~wuwaḡku *taipan snake*. However, in most stems with lenis stops the pronunciation is consistent.

More systematic examples of lenition come from suffix alternations. Directional -bala, which can be added to demonstrative and cardinal-direction stems, has the surface form -bala in ɾawaraḡ-bala *eastward* and in the rather frozen combination num-bala *that way*, but after vowels is nearly always -wala (yaku-wala *this way*, etc.). Variants with -bala (e.g. yaku-bala) were hesitantly accepted by informants when I pronounced them, but were never used in spontaneous utterances.

Similarly, Genitive-Dative -gu (the allomorph used with noun stems) retains its stop in ḡiḡ?-gu *of/for the woman* because of the non-leniting environment, but after vowels and nonnasal sonorants it often becomes -wu, hence ɟaramu-gu or ɟaramu-wu *of/for the man*. I will argue later on the basis of this fluctuation that the Future suffix for class 6 verbs, -wu, is historically identical to the Genitive-Dative suffix, though it no longer admits the pronunciation -gu. This suffix is always postvocalic, unlike the Genitive-Dative suffix. It is possible that the class 6 Past suffix -wala is likewise related either to Directional -bala or to another nominal suffix, the Locative Increment -gala-.

### P-4 Lenition of Suffix-Initial Lenis Stop

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} b \\ g \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow w // V \left( \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Liquid} \\ \text{Semivowel} \end{array} \right\} \right) (?) \text{ —}$$

(virtually obligatory for b, optional for g)

As formulated, P-4 applies only to the nominal suffixes Directional -bala, Genitive-Dative -gu, Originative -guḡu and Locative Increment -gala-. Since the class 6 tense suffixes -wu and -wala are no longer clearly connected synchronically with nominal suffixes, there is no

need to assign them base-forms with stops. Stem-internal alternations such as *jibuk-u--jiwuk-u* are best treated as instances of alternating base-forms.

Another fortis/lenis alternation can be seen by comparing the forms of case suffixes after noun stems with their forms after pronouns (personal and interrogative). Genitive-Dative *-gu* (variant *-wu*) becomes *-ku* after pronominal stems: *ɲara-ku mine*, *waɾa-ku whose?* *ɲa:-ku what for?* These three are the only clear examples, since the other pronominal stems either take a separate Genitive-Dative allomorph *-ɲu* or else take an augment *-ɲ-* before the case suffix, so that */-ku/* becomes surface *-gu* by P-2. Ergative-Instrumental *-ɖu* (optional allomorph *-y* after vowels) with nouns becomes *-ɖu* in *ɲa:-ɖu with what?* The other interrogative pronoun, *waɾa who?*, takes a special Ergative-Instrumental allomorph *-li*, and the personal pronouns do not allow the Ergative-Instrumental suffix. Other suffixes which show fortis stop after pronouns and lenis stop after nouns are Locative Increment *-gala-/kala-* (with second singular pronoun *ɲu:-kala-*) and Originative *-guɲu/-kuɲu*. The set of suffixes which show the alternation includes all those which begin with underlying lenis stop; the Directional suffix *-bala* is not used with any of the relevant pronouns (it occurs with demonstrative pronouns and cardinal-direction terms). Suffixes with underlying initial fortis stop, e.g. *Pergressive -kuru?*, do not have variants with lenis stop after noun stems, except of course by P-2.

#### P-5 Hardening of Lenis Stops

Stop → [+fortis] //  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{personal pronoun} \\ \text{interrogative pronoun} \end{array} \right\} \text{ —}$

Historically, it would seem that P-5 has also been at work in verbal morphology. In class 6, the most common Future allomorph is *-wu*, which I have earlier connected with Genitive-Dative *-gu~-wu*. This means that Future *-wu* is lenited from earlier *\*-gu*. Now there is one verb, *ɲa:- to hear*, whose paradigm is basically a class 6 one but which forms Future *ɲa:-ku*. (There are also some class 6 stems which take Future *-ɲu*; recall that *-ɲu* is found as a Genitive-Dative allomorph, e.g. with the second and third person singular pronouns.) The verbs which take Future *-wu* are all of at least two syllables.

Therefore we have the following as the total set of stems after which hardening (P-5) occurs: the personal pronouns 1Sg *ɲara-*, 2Sg allomorph *ɲu:-*, 3Sg allomorph *ɲanu-*, *waɾa- who?*, *ɲa:- what?*, and *ɲa:- to hear*. It is notable that several of these stems take the

form CV:-. The set of stems after which P-5 does not apply includes all noun stems (of which only *ḡa: mouth* and *ga: loose possessions* are CV:) and nonmonosyllabic class 6 verb stems. My suggestion is that at some earlier stage (perhaps before Proto-Yuulngu) there was a hardening rule converting lenis into fortis stops following \*CV:- stems (2Sg *ḡu:-*, *ḡa:- what?*, *ḡa:- to hear*, *ḡa: mouth*). The attested situation has resulted from subsequent analogical developments, none of them unusual. First, there was levelling within pronominal paradigms, so that 1Sg and 3Sg pronouns adopted suffix allomorphs like *-kala-* and *-kuḡu* from the 2Sg paradigm. This established the pattern 'suffix-initial fortis stop (k, etc.) after pronouns corresponding to lenis stop after noun stems'. This pattern then resulted in the shift of the 1Sg Genitive-Dative ending from *\*-gu* to *\*-ku* (this could not have been directly based on a 2Sg analogy since the 2Sg Genitive-Dative is *ḡu-ḡu* with a different suffix allomorph). Simultaneously, fortis allomorphs of suffixes added to *ḡa:- what?* were generalised into the paradigm of the companion interrogative pronoun *waḡa who?*. Another analogical development was the extension of lenis allomorphs of case suffixes to the paradigm of *ḡa: mouth*, bringing this paradigm into line with that of all other nouns. Hence we now get Genitive-Dative *ḡa:-gu*, not *\*ḡa:-ku*. All of these putative analogical changes are sound inasmuch as each involves levelling within well-defined form-classes.

## 2.5. Alternations Involving Interdentals

There are a few morphophonemic alternations between interdentals, apicoalveolars, and laminoalveolars. These are very limited in scope and there are no productive rules linking these three points of articulation.

The Accusative suffix can be written schematically as *-Na*. With noun stems this shows up as *-ḡa*. The same form shows up with the 1Sg pronoun (*ḡara-ḡa*), most nonsingular personal pronouns (3Du *maḡḡa-ḡa*, 1ExPl *ḡanapul-ḡa*, etc.), and with the interrogative pronoun *who?* (*waḡa-ḡa*); *ḡa: what?* does not permit the Accusative suffix. However, the 2Sg Accusative is *ḡu-na*, and laminoalveolars show up in 3Sg *ḡi-ḡa* (historically *\*ḡay-* plus *\*-Na*) and 3Pl *ḡali-ḡa*. The *-ḡa* allomorph can be easily explained as reflecting 'palatalisation' induced by the preceding *i* or *y*, but the apicoalveolar in 2Sg *ḡu-na* is more difficult to explain away.

There is a similar verbal suffix *-Na-*, which is used variously as a Past suffix, nominaliser, and/or an augment before certain



derivational endings, depending on the verb class. In class 2, whose members end in *a*, we get *-ṇa*, except that with *guyupa-* *to die* we get *guyupa-na*. This is the only class 2 stem ending in *pa*. There are no class 2 stems ending in *ṭa*.

Class 3, on the other hand, consists of stems ending in *pa* or *ṭa* (or *ḍa* preceded by a stop or nasal). The Past suffix here is *-na* (*ṇupa-na* *chased*, *baṭa-na* *burned*).

Most class 4 stems end in *pa*, *ṭa*, and *i*, and we find an augment *-na-* (*gurupa-na-* *to give*, *gaṭa-na-* *to hold*, *garpi-na-* *to coil or wrap around*). Other class 4 stems are two ending in *ma* and one in *ka*.

Class 6 stems end in *a* or *u* and take the suffix *-ṇa* (*ṛulṭa-ṇa* *put down*, *baṛpu-ṇa* *pounded*). Class 5 stems when thematised by *-yu-* (*-u-*, *-ḍu-*, etc.) all end in *u* and take the form *-na-*.

The important groups of stems ending in *i* are class 1 and denominatives with Inchoative *-ṭi-*. Both groups take *-na* or *-ṇa-* in free variation, except that *-ṇa-* has generalised in certain combinations where it functions as a nonfinal augment.

Although these facts look messy, some sense can be made out of them by assuming a basic pattern with subsequent analogical overlays. The basic rule is that *-Na-* takes the form *-na* with apicoalveolar after *u*, *i* (and *y*), *Ca* or *Cu* with interdental *C*, and *pa*, with the option of palatalisation to *-ṇa-* after *i* (*y*), and takes the form *-ṇa* with interdental elsewhere.

One analogical change has been the generalisation of *-ṇa* as the Accusative suffix with noun stems. There has been subsequent analogical pressure on the pronouns to conform, and consequently all nonsingular pronouns except 3Pl *ḍali* (the only one ending in *i*) take *-ṇa* instead of expected *-na*. However, the 3Pl, 3Sg, and 2Sg pronouns show the correct archaic Accusative allomorphs: 3Pl *ḍali-ṇa*, 3Sg *ṇi-ṇa*, 2Sg *ṇu-na*. Note that the 2Sg has *-na* with apicoalveolar because of the presence of the interdental in the stem.

In verbal morphology, the minority of class 4 stems (those ending in *ma* and *ka*) which should take *-ṇa-* adopt the allomorph *-na-* from the majority of other class 4 stems. Class 6, which is about evenly divided between stems which should take *-na-* and those which should take *-ṇa-*, has generalised the latter allomorph. In class 2, however, the lone verb *guyupa-* *to die* has somehow escaped analogical levelling and has clung to its suffix *-na* although all other members of the class have *-ṇa*.

Some of the *-na-* ~ *-ṇa-* alternations envisaged by the basic rule have undergone generalisation of one variant or the other. As noted

above, in class 1 and denominatives with Inchoative *-ti-* there are certain combinations where only *-ña-* is permitted. In the 3Sg and 3Pl Accusative pronouns the same generalisation has taken place. On the other hand, the sole class 4 stem ending in *i*, *garpi-* to coil or wrap around, has generalised *-na-*, thereby conforming to the pattern set by other class 4 stems.

Although we can thus account for most *-na-/ña-/ṇa-* alternations in verbs, it is possible that a historically significant opposition between apicoalveolar *-na-* and laminal *-Na-* (*-ña-/ṇa-*) can be discerned in some verb classes in view of semantic differences between, say, Past *-na* and *-ña* in class 1 (7.7, cf. also 7.25).

## 2.6. Isolated Consonantal Alternations

There are a few examples of a sporadic alternation of word- or stem-initial *ɾ* and *ɣ*. Thus *lightning* is *yamiñji* or *ɾamiñji* (cf. *Duwal ɾamiñji*, *Nunggubuyu yamiñji*). A prefix *ɾay~yay-* is found with some motion verbs. The total number of stems and prefixes affected is apparently less than half a dozen. This is part of a broader areal phenomenon, since initial *ɾ* is rather unstable. In most instances it is likely that the *ɾ* variant is original and the *ɣ* variant secondary.

There are two examples of an alternation *g~ṇ* in suffix-initial position. The best example is the Diminutive suffix, which has variants *-gañaʔ* and *-ṇañaʔ*, apparently in free variation (cf. *Ngandi -gañaʔ*, *Warndarang -gaña*, perhaps *Nunggubuyu wiñig small*). A semantically obscure nominal derivational suffix is usually *-giniṇ*, as in *ṇaṭa-giniṇ obsessed with or greedy for food* from *ṇaṭa food*, but an uncommon variant *-ṇiniṇ* was recorded twice (e.g. *wurpaṇ-giniṇ~wurpaṇ-ṇiniṇ greedy for emus*). In this light, perhaps *-ṇu*, a Genitive-Dative allomorph found with some pronouns, is etymologically identical to the other major allomorphs (*-gu*, with hardened variant *-ku* by P-5). In all of these cases, except perhaps *-giniṇ~ṇiniṇ*, the *g* appears to be original.

## 2.7. Forms of the Class 5 Thematising Increment

Class 5 verbs are unique in Ritharngu verbal morphology. Each class 5 verb consists of an irreducible root, usually CVC- or CVCVC-, less often CVCV- or CVCVCV- (medial C here may be a cluster). Before derivational or inflectional suffixes are added, a Thematising Increment *-Cu-* with variable consonant is appended to the root. This



morpheme is obligatory before many suffixes, but is optionally omitted before others, especially in rapid speech. It cannot be used without a following suffix. Most class 5 verbs also have a 'root form' consisting of the bare root without -Cu- or any other suffixes.

Many class 5 roots end in glottal stops, and indeed there is evidence that this glottalisation is historically secondary in many cases. Thus contrast *yaku this* with its derivative *yaku?-yu- to do/say thus*. A root-final ? is disregarded in the rule determining the form of -Cu-, so that in the case of the root *ḡaḡ?- to bathe* it is the ḡ rather than the ? which determines the allomorph -gu- of the Thematising Increment.

The forms taken by -Cu- are as follows:

- a) -u- after stops except apicals (apicoalveolar, retroflexed), hence *wap-u to jump* and *ḡak-u- to cut*; after semivowels, e.g. *ḡiw-u- to smell*; after some roots ending in liquids, instead of, or in free variation with -yu-, e.g. *guḡ-u- to be sick* (never \**guḡ-yu-*) and *ḡal?-yu- ~ḡal?-u- to go up*. In cases of free variation the variant -yu- is found in careful speech and will be used in dictionary entries.
- b) -ḡu- after ʈ and t, e.g. *yuḡ-ḡu- to rush away* and *wut-ḡu- to hit*; after ḡ and presumably n, e.g. *miḡ?-ḡu- to be jealous of*.
- c) -Cu- where C is a homorganic stop, after other nasals, e.g. *buḡ?-ju- to kiss*, *biḡaḡ?-gu- to lick*, and *ma:m?-bu- to appear*.
- d) -Cu- where C is a copied semivowel, after semivowel plus ?, e.g. *bay?-yu- to abandon* and *jaḡaw?-wu- to become morning*. This is an apparent exception to the comment above that ? is disregarded in the allomorphic rule.
- e) -yu- after vowels, e.g. *jaḡa-yu- to make spark from firestick*; after some roots ending in liquids, e.g. *gaḡilil-yu- to go around*.

It is apparent from this description that the consonant of -Cu- is determined almost entirely by the phonological ending of the root, except that roots ending in liquids have some discretion in choosing between -u- and -yu-.

In an analysis suggested by B. Schebeck (p.c.), combinations like *wap-u-* and *ɖak-u-* in (a) are interpreted as /*wap-bu-*/ and /*ɖak-gu-*/, showing -Cu- with homorganic stop as in (c). Similarly, combinations like *ɲiw-u-* in (a) are analysed as /*ɲiw-wu-*/, so that they can be transferred to (d), thereby allowing us to disregard ? after semi-vowels in the allomorphic rule despite the final remark in (d), above. Pursuing this, Schebeck regards -ɖu- as the etymologically and perhaps synchronically basic allomorph, undergoing weakening to -yu- (which is occasionally further reduced to -u- after liquids) in some environments, and undergoing assimilation to a preceding consonant in others. Schebeck's view has certainly been influenced by his experience with northern Yuulngu languages, where -ɖu- is the major allomorph of the Thematising Increment, but still has considerable merit.

There is some evidence elsewhere for sporadic lenition of ɖ to y. The class 5 verb *to cook in stone oven* takes the form *guda!ʔ-yu-* in material elicited from Maɖarpa informants, but is pronounced *guya!ʔ-yu-* by some old Wa:gilak informants. Furthermore, certain verbs like *miɖiki-* *to be bad* (cf. *miɖikuʔ-ɲu bad*) inflect like denominatives with Inchoative -ɰi-, and one can therefore envisage a derivation such as \**miɖiku-ɰi-* → \**miɖiku-ɖi-* → \**miɖiku-yi-* → \**miɖiki-yi-* → *miɖiki-*. It is also conceivable that Ergative-Instrumental allomorphs -ɖu and -y are etymologically related.

## 2.8. Treatment of Underlying Vowel Clusters

There are two morphemes (one with two relevant allomorphs) which begin with vowels and can follow morphemes ending in vowels. Future allomorph /-i/ used with verbs of classes 1 and 2 results in the contractions /ii/ → i and /ai/ → i (7.7-7.8). Future allomorph /-u/ used with *ɖurka-* *to chop* results in the contraction /au/ → u (7.14).

The other examples involve /-a/, which is added to Future forms of verbs to produce the Past Potential. When the Future allomorph ends in i, we get /ia/ becoming surface *iya*, e.g. *ɭuk-i-ya would have eaten* from Future *ɭuk-i* (7.8). When the Future allomorph ends in u, the contraction depends on the allomorph involved. With allomorphs /-wu/, /-ɭu/ and /-ru/ we get /ua/ → a, resulting in -w-a, -ɭ-a, and -r-a. However, with allomorph /-ɲu/ we get -ɲu-wa. This allomorph occurs before /-a/ only with the irregular verb *ɭa-* *to spear*, Past Potential *ɭa-n-ɲu-wa*.

To account for these data we need two rules, one inserting y or w to protect certain underlying vowel clusters, the second accounting

for the contractions:

P-6 Semivowel-Insertion

a)  $\emptyset \rightarrow y$  // i\_\_a

b)  $\emptyset \rightarrow w$  // -nu\_\_-a

P-7 VV-Contraction

V  $\rightarrow \emptyset$  // \_\_V

## 2.9. Instances of Vocalic Assimilation

There are a few examples where a vowel has adopted the quality of a vowel in the next syllable, or less often of a following semivowel. Verb classes 3, 4, and 6B (except monosyllabic stems) show a shift of stem-final /a/ to u before Future suffixes whose vowel is u :

Class 3 *ɲupu-ru* from *ɲupa-* to *chase*; class 4 *gaɣu-lu* from *gaɣa-* to *hold*; class 6B *guruku-ɲu* from *guruka-* to *carry over shoulder*. Class 6A Future forms like *ɭakaɣa-wu* will tell do not show this change.

Demonstrative adverbs *ɲum-bala* *that way*, *ɲuŋʔ-ɲaɣa* *there*, and *yaŋʔ-ɲaɣa* *here*, undergo a special type of vocalic assimilation before the enclitic *ɣi* (5.7) and sometimes before *ya* (9.3). This assimilation affects all of the underlying /a/ vowels in the adverbs: *ɲum-bili* + *ɣi*, *ɲuŋʔ-ɲiɣi* + *ɣi*, *yaŋʔ-ɲiɣi* + *ɣi*. Furthermore, I have been unable to distinguish the unsuffixed demonstrative stems *ɲuki* and *ɲuku* (5.1) before *ɣi* and *ya*, hearing only *ɲuki* + *ɣi* and *ɲuki* + *ya*.

This assimilation does not apply to any other demonstrative forms.

## 2.10. Reduplication

Reduplication is moderately common in verbs, where it indicates repetition or prolongation, less often distributivity or multiplicity.

Except for class 5, the basic verbal reduplicative pattern is initial CVCVʔ- with glottal stop; medial C may be cluster, and the first V may be long. Thus class 2 *ɣa:ra-* to *stand*, reduplicated *ɣa:raʔ-ɣara-* (Vowel-Shortening by P-2). If the verb stem is monosyllabic the reduplication includes the first syllable of the first suffix, e.g. *bumaʔ-bu-maɣa* from *bu-maɣa* *hit*.

In class 5 the usual reduplication is of the root, not including the -Cu- Thematising Increment. Thus *ɲaŋʔ-gu-* to *bathe* reduplicates as *ɲaŋʔ-ɲaŋʔ-gu-*, while *baŋgu!ʔ-yu-* to *return* produces *baŋgu!ʔ-baŋgu!ʔ-yu-*. Class 5 Cuʔ- roots (where ʔ could be underlying /t/ or /d/ because it occurs in tenseness-neutralising environments) show a

reduplicated segment Cuḡu- (yuḡu-yuḡ-ḡu- *to rush away*, buḡu-buḡ-ḡu- *to fly away*, from yuḡ-ḡu- and buḡ-ḡu-). I have no reduplications for Caḡ- or Ciḡ- roots.

In some other class 5 reduplications we find the regular CVCV?-reduplication, and the -Cu- Increment is included. Examples are wuḡu?-wut-ḡu- alongside variant wut-wut-ḡu- from wut-ḡu- *to hit* (intervocalic ḡ represents tḡ and is phonetically indistinguishable from it), and muḡu?-muḡ-gu- from muḡ-gu- *to drink*. This type of reduplication is characteristic of stems where the root and -Cu- are more tightly welded and therefore less easily segmentable than with most class 5 stems. In the CVt-ḡu- type represented by wut-ḡu- there is tighter phonological merger of the t and ḡ than we find with other root-final consonants. In examples like muḡ-gu- with root-final nasal and following homorganic stop (but no intervening glottal stop as in biḡaḡ?-gu- *to lick*) the root is so tightly bound to the -Cu- Increment that the former cannot occur in the incrementless root form (\*muḡ).

A handful of nouns have a reduplicated form indicating multiplicity: guya *fish*, guya-guya (or guya-wuya) *all the fish*; ḡigaḡ *billabong*, ḡiga-ḡigaḡ or ḡiga?-ḡigaḡ *all the billabongs*; yu:ḡu *small*, yu-yuḡu (not \*yu:-yuḡu) *all the small ones*. Such reduplication is not a productive process with human nouns, as for example in Nunggubuyu.

Reduplication indicating intensity is seen in barku?-barku *far away* from simple barku *far away* (Text 30.1). A special sense, distinguishing time of day from days themselves, is seen in ḡipu-ḡipurumiri? (note final glottal) *afternoon* vs. ḡipurumiri *yesterday* and guḡa-wuḡarpuy *morning* vs. guḡarpuy *tomorrow*. If the distinction is not contextually important the unreduplicated form can be used in either sense.

In addition to true synchronic reduplication, however, there are many frozen reduplications such as miḡimiḡi *rib*, biḡipiḡi *paperbark tree sp.*, buruḡburuḡ? *vine sp.*, and ḡar?ḡar-yu- *to cut up*. Here the entire reduplication is part of the base form since the unreduplicated simplex cannot occur by itself.

## 2.11. Geminate-Contraction

When two identical consonants come together at a morpheme boundary, the cluster is usually reduced to a single consonant in normal speech, although in careful speech the geminate cluster may be retained: ḡawa(l)-li? *to the country*. As noted above, there is no clear phonetic difference between, say, intervocalic k and kg (i.e. between

a fortis stop and a cluster of two homorganic stops), although for the sake of morphemic identifiability I will not reduce transcriptions like k-g over a boundary (only k will be used morpheme-medially).

## 2.12. Ordering of Phonological Processes

Little can be said about the relative ordering of the phonological rules described above, since for the most part they do not interact with others. However, certain pairs of rules are ordered with respect to each other.

Reduplication must precede P-1 (Vowel-Shortening) because the latter applies to /*ɖa:raʔ-ɖa:ra-*/ *all to stand*, resulting in *ɖa:raʔ-ɖara-*.

P-6 (Semivowel-Insertion) must precede P-7 (VV-Contraction) to insure that /*ia*/ shows up as surface *iya* rather than contracted *a*.

P-7 in turn must precede the minor vocalic assimilation process mentioned in (2.9) to generate correct Past Potential forms such as *ɲupa-r-a should/would have chased* from /*ɲupa-ru-a*/. On the surface it might look as though either ordering would work, since *ɲupa-r-a* could be derived from /*ɲupa-ru-a*/ via *ɲupu-ru-a* and /*ɲupu-r-a*/, provided vocalic assimilation is allowed to repeat itself, yielding *ɲupa-r-a*. However, aside from the fact that this derivation requires double application of the vocalic assimilation process, it correctly predicts the surface forms only where the underlying stem-final vowel is *a*, as in *ɲupa-*. The same derivation applied to a class 5 Past Potential such as /*jaraʔ-ju-ru-a*/ *should/would have pushed* incorrectly predicts surface \**jaraʔ-ja-r-a* instead of the correct form *jaraʔ-ju-r-a*. Consequently, we must allow P-7 to apply, converting /*ua*/ to *a* in these examples, and then specify that vocalic assimilation is a late, highly restricted, unproductive process applicable to verb forms ending in Future *-ru* (or *-lu*) which have not lost their underlying /*u*/ by previous rules such as P-7.

Another ordering relationship which must be noted is that P-5 (Hardening of Lenis Stops) must precede P-2 (Postconsonantal Lenition) as the two rules are formulated here. P-5 hardens Originative *-guɲu* to *-kuɲu*, and so forth, for all personal and interrogative pronouns. However, nonsingular personal pronouns have an augment *-ɲ-* before suffixes like *-kuɲu*, and the nasal causes the *k* to revert to *g*, yielding *ɖali-ɲ-guɲu* (3Pl) and so forth. The only way to avoid positing such an ordering relationship is to reformulate P-5 so that it applies only when the stem ends in a vowel.

## CHAPTER THREE

### NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1. -ŋu

A derivational suffix -ŋu is found with certain nouns, chiefly but not always nouns which would be classed as adjectives in English. Thus ɖa:l *strong, firm* has a variant ɖa:l-ŋu with little or no difference in meaning or usage. The suffix is apparently obligatory in a few cases, e.g. miɖiku?-ŋu *bad*. In this instance the glottal stop may be etymologically secondary, cf. miɖiku-bur? *bad, incapable, ignorant* and denominative verb miɖiki- *to be bad* from \*miɖiku-ɣi-. Some adjective-like nouns seem rarely or never to take -ŋu, e.g. ɖumuru *big*.

The word for *person, man, Aboriginal* is normally yu:l-ŋu in the Singular, though yu:l is also attested. In the Dual and Plural, however, the -ŋu is dropped: yu:l-maŋji? *two people*, yu:l-waɕ *people*.

#### 3.2. Special Features of Kin Terms

As is usual in languages of the area, in Ritharngu we find that kin terms have a number of special morphological and syntactic peculiarities.

Normally, Ritharngu nouns take Genitive pronouns (postposed or preposed, in the former case sometimes treated as enclitics), hence ŋan-ŋu wa:ŋa *his camp* (also wa:ŋa + ŋan-ŋu). Kin terms can take such juxtaposed possessive pronouns, but also have a special set of possessive suffixes:

-ŋ?	first (occasionally third) person possessor
-mu	} second person possessor
-ŋali	
-Ø	third person possessor



Examples: *ba:pa-ŋ?* *my/our* (occasionally *his/their*) *father*, *ba:pa-mu* or *ba:pa-ŋali* *your* (Sg or Pl) *father*, *ba:pa-Ø* *his/their father*. In texts I will omit *-Ø* (hence *ba:pa* for *ba:pa-Ø*). For second person, *-mu* is much more common than *-ŋali* (which, however, is the only such suffix found in the *Duwal* language to the north).

Since forms like *ba:pa-ŋ?* are frequently accompanied by Genitive pronouns, there is little likelihood of ambiguity between first and third person possessor: *ŋan-ŋu ba:pa-ŋ?* *his father* has only one reading. The third person use of *-ŋ?* is sufficiently rare, especially when no Genitive pronoun is juxtaposed to it, that it is generally possible to assume that the first person reading is correct.

By 'first person possessor' we mean any inclusive or exclusive first person (1Sg, 1PlEx, 1PlIn, etc.).

A special dyadic Du suffix *-ka?* (cf. *Ngandi -ko?* in this function) occurs in forms like *ba:pa-ka?* *father and child* from *ba:pa* *father*. This is distinct from Du *ba:pa-mañji?* *two fathers* (i.e. *a father and a father's brother*). The form *ba:pa-ka?* is treated as Du for purposes of agreement: *ba:pa-ka? + maŋða wa:ni-na* *the father and his child went* (with Du enclitic *maŋða*). A 3+ Pl can be created by adding Pl *-wač*, hence *ba:pa-ka?-wač* *father and children*.

Except for the few self-reciprocal kin terms, a dyadic Du with *-ka?* requires the speaker to choose one of two kin-term stems; in this example the speaker used *ba:pa* *father* rather than *ga:tu* *child* (son, daughter). The basic rule is that if the focal referents of the two inverse terms differ in genealogical generation, the one whose focal referent is in the senior generation is used. Here, *father* is obviously senior to *child* and the term for *father* is therefore used in *ba:pa-ka?* (even though, occasionally, this might refer to a man and a classificatory *child* who is actually older than he is). For similar reasons we get *ŋa:ŋdi-ka?* *mother and child*, *gaykay-ka?* *uncle* (*mother's brother*) and *nephew/niece*, *ŋaŋi-ka?* *mother's father and daughter's child*, *mu:mu-ka?* *mother's father's sister and brother's daughter's child*, *mu:kul-ka?* *father's sister and brother's child*, and *ma:ri-ka?* *mother's mother and daughter's child*. Examples with self-reciprocals are *mu:di-ka?* *father's father and son's child* and *guruŋ-ga?* *mother's mother's brother's child and father's sister's daughter's child* (i.e. *avoidance relatives*). In the case of same-generation kin, the seniority principle holds up in *wa:wa-ka?* (with the stem for *elder brother*) *elder brother and younger sibling* and *yapa-ka?* *elder sister and younger sibling*. In *duway-ka?* (with the stem for *husband*) *husband and wife* we can also see seniority at work, since in

traditional times men married very late and women quite young.

An alternative way of looking at the rule for choosing the term to be used with *-ka?* here is to suggest that the more highly marked (semantically specific) term is used. Since male/female distinctions are made at several points in ascending generations, but not in descending ones, using the senior term may provide more information. Thus I call my mother's father *ŋaʔi* and my mother's father's sister *mu:mu*, but both of them call me *gamiñar*. By forming the dyadic duals as *ŋaʔi-ka?* and *mu:mu-ka?* we can see that the sex of one of the two individuals (the senior one) is explicitly indicated, whereas if we used *\*gamiñar-ka?* there would be no indication of the sex of either of the two individuals. Similarly, *wa:wa elder brother* and *yapa elder sister* are distinguished, but there is just one term *guʔa* for *younger sibling*.

Another special feature of kin terms is the occurrence of an Ergative allomorph *-li*, which is otherwise found only with *waʔa- who?*. Examples are *yapa-li (his) sister*, *ba:pa-li (his) father*, and *ŋa:ŋdi-li (his) mother* (all Ergative). See Texts 31.2, 32.1, 36.2, 39.1, and 39.4. This allomorph can only be used directly after the stem (i.e. it cannot follow possessive suffixes *-mu*, *-ŋali*, or *ŋ?*), and is only used with stems ending in a vowel. It varies with allomorph *-y* (hence *yapa-li* or *yapa-y*), though the other allomorph *-du* does not seem to occur in those positions where *-li* can occur.

The basic kin terms in Ritharngu are these: *mu:di FaFa/SoSo* (the term *ma:ri-muŋu* can also be used for *FaFa* but is not common; the term *marāʔa*, more common further north, is rarely used for *SoSo*, but my informant would not accept possessive suffixes like *-ŋ?* or *mu* with this stem); *ba:pa Fa*; *mu:kul FaSi (not avoided)*, (occasionally also) *MoMoBrDa (avoidance relative)* (it is possible to distinguish *FaSi* by the compound *mu:kul ba:pa* from *MoMoBrDa* as *mu:kul ʔumaʔu?*, using *ba:pa father* and *ʔumaʔu? tabooed relative*, but this distinction is much less common than in languages to the north, and *mu:kul* usually means *FaSi*); *yapa elder Si*; *wa:wa elder Br*; *guʔa younger sibling*; *ga:ʔu So/Da*; *mu:mu FaMo/MoFaSi*; *ŋaʔi FaMoBr/MoFa*; *ŋa:ŋdi Mo*; *gaykay* (less often *ŋapipi?*) *MoBr*; *duway Hu/SiHu*; *galay* (less often *guñjuy*) *Wi/BrWi*; *gamiñar SiSoSo/SiSoDa/DaSo/DaDa*; *gapiri* (less often *waku*) *SiSo/SiDa*; *ma:ri MoMo/MoMoBr*; *guruŋ MoMoBrDa/MoMoBrSo/WiMo/WiMoBr* and reciprocals of these (*MoMoBrSo/WiMoBr* but not reciprocal sometimes called *ja:buʔ*); *guʔara SiDaSo/SiDaDa*; *garmala MoMoBrWi*. Each of these terms can be applied to a potentially infinite range of kinsmen, and the glosses merely indicate one or more 'focal' referents.



There are, however, a few specifically affinal terms which have a single referent. The noun *milmara bestowed* (in local English *promised*) is used by a man to refer to either a (prospective) mother-in-law or a (prospective or actual) wife; and by a woman to refer to her (prospective) son-in-law or husband. A mother-in-law is bestowed on a man (Text 33), whereupon he has the right to claim her female children, so *milmara* in effect links the man with either the mother-in-law or her daughter(s) involved in or presupposed by the bestowal ritual.

Another affinal term is *runḡay WiFa*. This category usually falls within the broader *gaykay MoBr* category, so a man is usually able to refer to his *WiFa* by either *gaykay* or *runḡay* (the latter emphasizing the actual affinal relationship).

There is no explicit affinal term for *WiMo*, although *mu:kul rumaṛu?* (which stresses the avoidance relationship) is more likely to refer to the actual *WiMo* than to anyone else (since avoidance behaviour is most stringent toward the actual *WiMo*). In general, the term *gurun* is used for *WiMo* as well as for classificatory *MoMoBrDa*. As for *Wi* and *Hu*, the terms given above (*galay*, *ḡuway*) are not explicitly affinal and are also applied to many genealogically defined kin.

The terms *milmara* and *runḡay* differ formally from other kin terms in that possessive suffixes like *-ŋ?* and *-mu* cannot be used with them. On the other hand, dyadic *-ka?* can be used: *milmara-ka?* *man and his bestowed (promised) mother-in-law or wife*, *runḡay-ka?* *man and his wife's father*.

The only cases of apposition noted above were *mu:kul ba:pa FaSi* and *mu:kul rumaṛu? WiMo/MoMoBrDa*, where the second elements differentiate two (behaviourally very distinct) types of *mu:kul*. In the case of *mu:kul ba:pa*, both elements are kin terms (cf. *ba:pa Fa*), and if suffixes are added they occur on both: *mu:kul-mu ba:pa-mu your FaSi*, etc. However, *rumaṛu?* is not a kin term, morphologically speaking, and cannot take possessive suffixes: *mu:kul-mu rumaṛu? your WiMo*. It can take case suffixes and the like: *mu:ku(l)-li? rumaṛu?-li? to his WiMo*.

There is a fairly elaborate 'secondary' vocabulary dealing with kin types, a glimpse of which can be gotten by looking at those texts published here which deal with kinship. In particular, there are a number of devices for distinguishing 'focal' from other referents of each of the classificatory terms. One way is simply to add an element specifying 'actual' (e.g. *actual Mo*, as opposed to a genealogically

distant relative called *Mo*). The principal devices of this sort are the elements *wa:wun-ŋu true, proper* (Text 27.1), the element *galʔŋu real, true* (Text 36.4), and the suffix *-ʔmiriŋu* (e.g. Text 36.4). It should be noted that *-ʔmiriŋu* is much less common in Ritharngu than in other Yuulngu languages like *Duwal*, and is used specifically in the sense 'actual'.

A relationship involving a mother-child link (e.g. *Mo, MoBr*) can be indicated by using Originative case suffix *-guŋu* (with pronouns *-kuŋu*); this normally indicates the source of a commodity, and here indicates the 'source' (the mother's body) of a child. For an example (with *MoBr*) see Text 36.3, where this device helps distinguish actual *MoBr* from distant classificatory *MoBr*.

Another device is to just use an emphatic form of a genitive pronoun, as in *ŋan-ŋu gaykay ŋan-ŋu-pi his (own) MoBr* (Text 36.3). (Incidentally, this double occurrence of the Genitive pronoun - once before and once after the stem, usually without emphatic *-pi* - is quite common with kin terms.)

A more specialised device to indicate 'actual/focal' referents of kin terms is the use of expressions involving body parts which are (metonymically) associated with focal referents of particular kin terms. Thus *gu!un-buy of the belly* is often used to specify the relationship between actual *Mo* and child (or actual *MoBr* and sister's child) in in Text 36.3. Here *belly* is to be taken in the sense *womb*.

The term *ba:ka calf of leg* is associated with the relationship of actual siblings, regardless of sex, so that *maŋda ba:ka they (Du) (are) calf* (Text 39.4) specifies actual brother-sister, brother-brother, or sister-sister relationship. The expression makes the most 'sense' for brother-sister relationships, since at the point when a boy is circumcised his sister is expected to cut the skin of her calf in sympathy (Text 39.4).

The other similar example found in the texts is the use of *ŋapa backbone* to refer to the relationship between *MoMo/MoMoBr (ma:ri)* and (Si)Da's child (*guŋara*), as in Text 36.4. Apparently the idea here is that a child may climb up onto the *MoMoBr*'s back and get a ride piggy-back.

Elicitation produced the following additional examples: the relationship between a person and his/her *ŋaŋi (MoFa)* or *mu:mu (MoFaSi, etc.)* is associated with *gawarak whiskers, beard*; the *gurun* relationship (*WiMo, etc.*) is linked with *buku forehead* or *gurpulu knee*; *ba:pa (Fa)* and *mu:kul (FaSi, not WiMo)* is associated with *gupa (shoulder)*; *mu:qi (FaFa)* is connected with *qilči (lower back)*; the

garmala relationship is symbolised by gaḍa? (chest, breast); and husband/wife (affinal) relationships are associated with lami (hip). Some of these can be explained: *forehead* is used for the avoidance relationship since persons in this relationship are expected to avoid directly looking at each other's faces; *shoulder* for Fa and FaSi is because they carry the child on their shoulders; *hip* for Hu-Wi is a euphemism for sexual activity.

Although longer expressions involving these body parts are possible, the simplest way to use them is with associative -puy, as in the example guḷun-buy *of the belly (womb)* mentioned above. Another example: ḡara-ku yiki + ya gamiñar-ḡ? + ja ḡawarak-buy *that one (yiki + ya) is my (ḡara-ku) DaSo (gamiñar-), of the whiskers (ḡawarak-buy) (i.e. he is my true DaSo).*

Although we have noted the use of lami-puy *of the hip* for the Hu-Wi relationship, it is more typical to indicate actual affinal relationships by referring to co-residence; an expression like *the one who sleeps at his camp* is common, indicating his actual wife. See Text 40 for an example of how this is used to specify actual SiHu.

It is thus quite misleading to speak of the 'Ritharngu kinship system' solely with reference to the 'basic' kin terms like ba:pa and ma:ri. It is important to jointly consider the basic and secondary vocabulary sketched briefly here to understand how the Ritharngu talk about kinship relations (indeed, it is not even technically possible to distinguish basic from secondary levels, since in cases like mu:kul ṛumaṛu? *WiMo, etc.* we really have apposition between a simple, more or less genealogical term mu:kul and a behaviourally oriented 'secondary' term ṛumaṛu?).

Partial genealogies illustrating some of the kin terms are presented in the accompanying figures, where 0 represents a female and Δ a male individual. EGO is shown as male, but his brothers and sisters use the same terms as he does for the other individuals shown (except of course for each other, and except that affinal terms like ṛuḡḡay are most often used for one's own - rather than one's brother's - affines).

### 3.3. Number Markers

The basic number-marking suffixes are these:

(zero)	Sg
-mañji?	Du
-wač	Pl (3+)

FIGURE 3-1

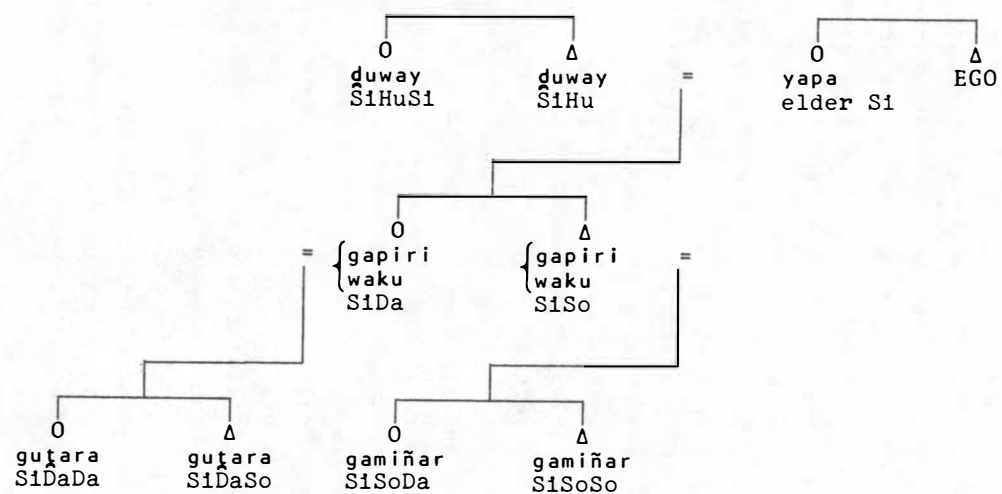
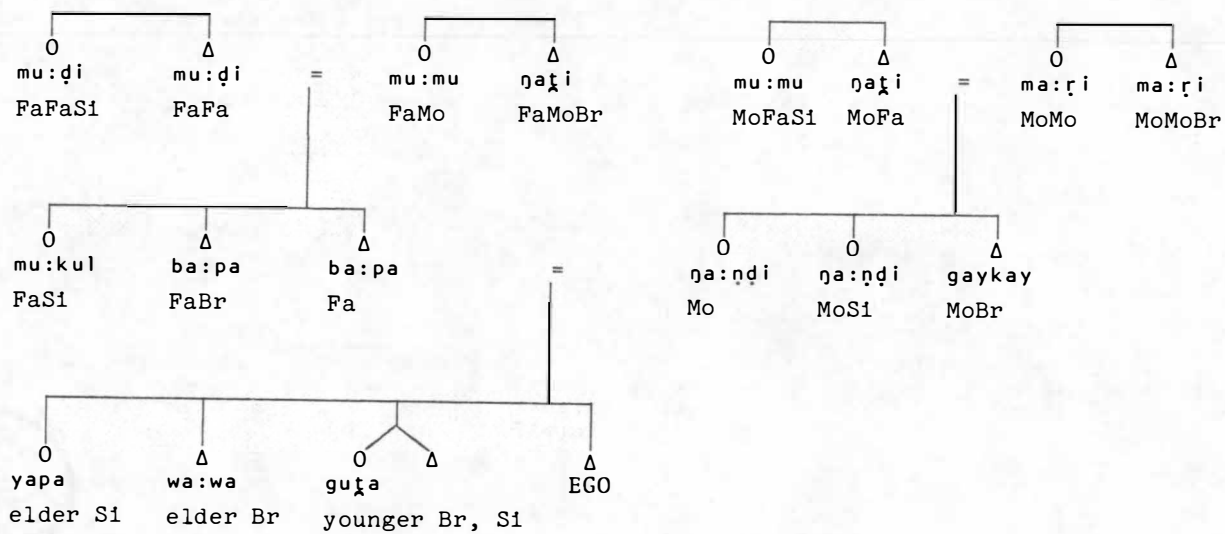




FIGURE 3-3



Examples: *ḡiṇ? woman*, *ḡiṇ?-mañji? (two) women*, *ḡiṇ?-wač (three or more) women*.

As usual in languages in the area, duality but not plurality is generally indicated for nonhuman objects. Thus *garčambal-mañji? two kangaroos* and *ṇu:ka?-mañji? two stones* are common expressions, but *\*ṇu:ka?-wač stones* is ungrammatical. Being a 'higher' animate noun, and therefore having some morphological and syntactic affinities with human nouns (3.5, 4.2) *garčambal kangaroo* can occasionally take Pl *-wač*, but often omits it. With human nouns like *ḡiṇ? woman*, the Du and Pl suffixes are almost obligatory when semantically appropriate.

When number-marking suffixes are used with kin terms, they follow the possessive suffixes: *ba:pa-mu-wač your fathers (i.e. your father and his brothers)*. The number marker here quantifies *father* rather than the possessor.

Dyadic Du suffix *-ka?* with kin terms has been mentioned in (3.2).

Irregular Pl forms noted are *ḡaramu-ru* alongside regular *ḡaramu-wač men*, with *-ru* corresponding to the productive Pl suffix *-wur(u-)* in the *Duwal* language, and *jama-yala* or complex *jama-yala-wač children* (Sg *jama*). The form *jama-rkuḷi children* can be considered another irregular Pl of *jama*.

A very small number of nonhuman nouns have a reduplicated Multiple (Collective) form, e.g. *guya-guya* (or *guya-wuya*) (*all the*) *fish* and *ṇiga-ṇigar* or *ṇiga?-ṇigar all the billabongs*.

### 3.4. Case Suffixes: Forms

The following suffixes, most of which are describable as case suffixes, will be dealt with here:

(zero)	Nominative
-ḡu--y	Ergative-Instrumental
-ṇa	Accusative
-gu	Genitive-Dative
-guṇu	Originative
-gala-	Locative Increment
-ṇaṇa	Locative
-ṇuṇu?	Ablative
-li?	Allative
-kuru?	Pergressive

-puy	Associative
-bala	Directional
-ṭaŋ?	Temporal
-wa	only in gapu-wa <i>underwater</i>
-ʔwañji?	Semblative

Initial *g* and *b* are subject to lenition to *w* by P-4, while initial *g*, *b*, and *ḡ* are hardened by P-3 after pronominal stems (2.4). Initial *k* and *p* become *g* and *b* by P-2 (2.4). For other variations see the chapters on demonstratives, pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

Ergative-Instrumental *-y* is used optionally instead of *-ḡu* after vowels, otherwise *-ḡu* is generalised: *ḡiŋ?ḡu woman-Erg*, *ḡaramuḡuḡaramu-y man-Erg*. Ergative-Instrumental allomorph *-li* (not shown) is used (along with *-y*) directly after kin-term roots ending in a vowel (3.2), and (as the only allomorph possible) with *waṛa who?* (6.3).

For some speakers the Ablative suffix is *-ḡuṛu* without the final glottal. However, my Maḡarpa informants all pronounced the *ʔ* here consistently.

### 3.5. Ritharngu Cases as a 'Split' System

Silverstein (1976) has provided theoretical background to the problem of 'split' case systems in Australia whereby, for example, pronouns might have an accusative system while nouns have an ergative system.

In Ritharngu, there are at least three subsystems, applicable to the following sets of substantives: a) pronouns; b) human and some 'higher' animate nouns such as *dog* and *kangaroo*; c) inanimate and 'lower' animate nouns such as *fish* and *spider*. The interrogative pronouns *waṛa- who?* and *ḡa:- what?* are treated as (b) and (c) respectively. There are some problems in the interpretation of the case system used with demonstratives, but it seems to be basically intermediate between the systems characteristic of (b) and (c). The division between (b) and (c) is not always rigorously maintained.

Set (a) has an accusative system distinguishing an Accusative suffix *-Na* (*-ḡa*, *-na*, *-ña*) from a Nominative in *-∅* which is used for transitive as well as intransitive subject. Set (b) substantives have a 'doubly-marked' system whereby both transitive categories take marked cases, Ergative for subject and Accusative for object, with the Nominative restricted to intransitive subject. Set (c) has an





Examples:

ga:-wala + nan-ŋu + ra ɖarpa ba:pa-ŋ?-gu  
 carry-Past 3Sg-Dat 1Sg stick father-my-Dat  
*I carried the stick to (for) my father.*

ga:-wala + ra ba:pa-ŋ?-gu ɖarpa  
 father-my-Gen  
*I carried my father's stick.*

In the first example, *father* is the Dative beneficiary of the event, and is cross-referenced by the enclitic *nan-ŋu*. In the second example, *father* is the possessor of *stick*, is not directly complementary to the verb, and is not cross-referenced.

This syntactic test distinguishing Dative from Genitive is not foolproof, and in the first example above the cross-referencing Dative enclitic *nan-ŋu* is sometimes omitted. However, there is at least a general difference between the Dative and Genitive in their syntactic behaviour.

Parenthetically, note that *ɖarpa* in these two examples is in the zero Nominative case, not Accusative. This is because it is inanimate and thus has an ergative case system.

The Dative is used with objects of a variety of emotive verbs and adjectives, e.g. *ja:l-ɣi-* *to desire* and *maŋŋi* *knowledgeable*.

Examples:

ja:l-ɣi-ri + ra naɣa-gu  
 desirous-Inch-Pres 1Sg food-Dat  
*I want food.*

maŋŋi + ra ɖa:wu-gu  
 knowledgeable 1Sg language-Dat  
*I know (about) the language.*

(The absence of 3Sg Dative enclitic *nan-ŋu* cross-referencing *naɣa-gu* and *ɖa:wu-gu* in these examples is due to the fact that such enclitics are only used to cross-reference human and 'higher' animate NP's.)

The Dative is used with *ɭakaɾa-* *to tell* to indicate the person told, but is only rarely used with *guruɓa-* *to give*. The latter usually treats both the recipient and gift as direct objects, hence the recipient is normally in Accusative case (being human or 'higher' animate) while the gift is normally in Nominative case (being inanimate or 'lower' animate).

Examples:

!akaɾa-wala + ɲan-ŋu + ra ɖa:wu ɖaramu-gu  
 tell-Past 3Sg-Dat 1Sg story man-Dat  
*I told the story to the man.*

gurupa-lara + ña + ra ɖarpa ɖaramu-ɲa  
 give-Past 3SgAcc 1Sg stick man-Acc  
*I gave the stick to the man.*

The object which is cross-referenced by an Accusative enclitic (here ña) is the recipient, not the gift. Occasionally, the English-type *to give* construction with Dative recipient is used (see Text 33.3); for a textual example of the regular Accusative construction see Text 36.3. A rare type not found in the texts is to have Accusative recipient with the gift put in the Instrumental (cf. English *I furnished him with wood*).

### 3.8. Dative vs. Allative

The usual translation of English *He went (hunting) for kangaroos* is this:

wa:ni-na + ɲay ja:ča-li?  
 go-Past 3Sg kangaroo-All

The case suffix here is Allative -li? rather than Dative -gu. In instances like this where an entity like *kangaroo* is semantically both allative (as the terminus of motion) and dative (i.e. purposive), the Allative is usually preferred in Ritharngu whereas the Purposive (*for*) is used in English.

Therefore in its purposive sense, the Dative in Ritharngu is largely limited to contexts where a NP is semantically purposive but not allative. An example is this:

waɾk-u-n + ɲay money-gu  
 work-Incr-Pres 3Sg -Dat  
*He works for money.*

### 3.9. The Originative

Originative -guɲu indicates that the NP to which it is attached is the source or provider of something, usually a commodity such as food or money. An example:

!uka-Ø + ra ɖa:ɲgu ba:pa-ɲ?-guɲu  
 consume-Pres 1Sg meat father-my-Orig  
*I eat meat from (i.e. provided by) my father.*

This suffix is normally added only to human nouns, and its sense is restricted to sentences like this one. It has no Ablative connotations in the motional sense, and does not appear to have abstract senses such as *because of*. It is rather similar in usage to Ngandi -kuñuŋ. For a special sense *borne by (mother, mother's brother)* see (3.2) and Text 36.3.

### 3.10. The Locative Increment

Human and (less rigorously) 'higher' animate nouns require the Locative Increment -gala- between them and the following suffixes: Locative -ŋaŋa, Ablative -ŋuŋu?, and Allative -li?. The Pergressive suffix -kuru? may also belong in this list, but this suffix is rarely or never added to human and 'higher' animate nouns and there are no clear examples in the data. Examples with -ŋaŋa, -ŋuŋu?, and -li? will be given in the relevant sections below.

It is also possible to use -gala without further suffixation, giving a sense rather like that of French *chez*. This construction is common in contexts where the speaker is indicating at whose camp a particular person is staying (*sleeping*):

munuma-gala + ra ŋu:ra-Ø + nu  
 Munuma-LocIncr 1Sg sleep-Pres now  
*I am staying at Munuma's camp now.*

Such expressions can possibly be taken as simplifications of constructions such as munuma-gala-ŋaŋa with Locative suffix -ŋaŋa. Possibly they are to be taken as parallel to place names, which often omit -ŋaŋa (3.11).

### 3.11. The Locative

Locative -ŋaŋa is static, and should be translated *at, in, on* rather than *into, onto*. It can also sometimes be translated as *around, in the vicinity of*, as in this example:

ŋaŋa-ŋaŋa + ɔali ŋi:na-Ø  
 food-Loc 3Pl sit-Pres  
*They are (sitting) in the food area.*

There is an occasional abstract sense, as when a fight is said to be ɔiŋ?-ŋaŋa *concerning a woman*. Compare English *They are fighting over a woman*. However, such uses are uncommon in Ritharngu, and in this particular context one can also use -kuru? or -puy.

Examples of -*ɲaɾa* with human or 'higher' animate nouns are uncommon, except in examples such as the following:

*ɲi:na-Ø + ɲay ba:pa-mu-gala-ɲaɾa      ɲaɖan-ɲaɾa*  
*sit-Pres 3Sg father-your-LocIncr-Loc humpy-Loc*  
*He is (sitting) in your father's humpy.*

This shows the effect of a transformation, to be formulated in the chapter on syntax, whereby an underlying Genitive NP modifying a NP in the Loc (or Abl or All) case is reshaped by changing the Genitive into a case agreeing with that of the possessed NP.

Locative -*ɲaɾa* is sometimes omitted with place names:

*ɲi:na-Ø + maɲɖa ɖu:ɲji*  
*sit-Pres 3Du Doindji*  
*They (two) are (sitting) at Doindji.*

However, Locative -*ɲaɾa* can be added, so that this could also be *ɲi:na-Ø + maɲɖa ɖu:ɲji-ɲaɾa*.

### 3.12. The Ablative

Ablative -*ɲuɾu?* is used primarily in the expected directional sense:

*wa:ni-na + ɲay mayaɲ-ɲuɾu?*  
*go-Past 3Sg river-Abl*  
*He went from the river.*

It can also be used with language names where English uses *in*:

*waɲa-Ø + ɲi: ɾiɭarɲu-ɲuɾu?*  
*speak-Pres 2Sg Ritharngu-Abl*  
*You speak (in) Ritharngu.*

The Ablative cannot be omitted (when semantically appropriate) from place names: *ɲumbulwar-ɲuɾu?* *from Numbulwar*.

An example of -*gala-ɲuɾu?* with Locative Increment -*gala-* following a human noun:

*wa:ni-na + ra ba:pa-ɲ?-gala-ɲuɾu?*  
*go-Past 1Sg father-my-LocIncr-Abl*  
*I went from my father.*

### 3.13. The Allative

Allative -*li?* is used chiefly in directional senses translatable *to*, *toward*, *into*, *onto*. An example:

wa:n-i + napu mayan-li?  
 go-Fut 1ExPl river-All  
*We will go to the river.*

With -gala- after human noun:

wa:ni-na + ɲali jawulpa-gala-li?  
 go-Past 1InDu old man-LocIncr-All  
*You and I went to the old man.*

However, the rules which determine when -li? is to be used can be somewhat tricky for speakers of English to master, since -li? is used in some instances where English would not use an Allative preposition. For example, *I saw him (sitting) in the tree* has Locative *in* in English, but in Ritharngu we usually get -li?:

ɲa:-wala + ɲa + ra ɟarpa-li?  
 see-Past 3SgAcc 1Sg tree-All

This is because *tree* is, in a sense, the terminus of a trajectory (the action of seeing) in addition to being the static position of the direction object.

### 3.14. The Pergressive

The suffix -kuru? can be translated *along* or *through*, depending on context: mulmu-kuru? *through the grass*, mayan-guru? *along the river*. It does not generally permit the sense *around, in the vicinity of*, which is a possible sense for the Nunggubuyu suffixes I have also labelled Pergressive.

As noted earlier, -kuru? can be used instead of -ɲara or -puy in an abstract sense, so that a fight may be said to be ɟin?-kuru? *concerning a woman*.

### 3.15. The Associative

Strictly speaking, Associative -puy is a derivational rather than inflectional suffix and is therefore formally distinct from true case suffixes like those described in preceding sections. It forms complex noun stems which can then be inflected (e.g. for number) like simple noun stems. Thus from ɲumbulwar-puy (*one*) from *Numbulwar* one can form Pl ɲumbulwar-puy-wač (*people*) from *Numbulwar*, and when these nouns are used in sentences they may take case suffixes, hence Erg ɲumbulwar-puy-wač-gu.

The basic sense of -puy is that the derived noun designates a person or other entity which is permanently or inherently associated

with the noun to which it is added. Thus *numbulwar-puy* designates someone who is *from Numbulwar* in the sense that he was born there, has been a long-time resident there, and/or has a claim to it under tribal law. It is somewhat like *-er* in *New Yorker*. Similarly, certain wallabies, trees, etc. which are habitually found in stony hills may be referred to as *nu:ka?-buy* from *nu:ka? stone*. Cf. also interrogative *nika-puy from where?*, used frequently in questions designed to discover the identity of a stranger.

There are certain special uses of *-puy* in a number of semi-frozen adverbial constructions. Thus from *wajir sun* we get *wajir-puy* (*in the*) *daytime*, and contrast *ripuru-puy recently* with *ripuru-miri yesterday; afternoon*. The common adverb *guḍarpuy tomorrow morning* contains *-puy* historically; although a simplex *\*guḍar-* does not occur elsewhere in Ritharngu, B. Schebeck has pointed out to me that a similar form without *-puy* is found in some northern Yuulngu languages.

### 3.16. The Directional

Directional *-bala* is not used with ordinary nouns, and therefore does not really compete with All *-li?*. It is used only with certain demonstrative stems, with *barku far away*, and with cardinal direction terms (*rawaraṇ-bala eastward*, *ṇaṇi-wala westward*, etc.). It is mentioned here inasmuch as it patterns somewhat like a case suffix, and contrasts for example with Abl *-ṇuṛu?* (with cardinal direction terms *rawaraṇ-ṇuṛu? from the west*, etc.).

### 3.17. The Temporal

The Temporal suffix *-ṭaṇ?* is fundamentally a verbal subordinator rather than a case suffix. However, it can be added to nouns and demonstratives in predicate nominal function to create time adverbs, e.g. *yu:ṭu-ṭaṇ? while (someone was) a child* in sentences like this:

yu:ṭu-ṭaṇ?    ba:pa-ṇ?    +    ṇay guyupa-na  
child-Temp    father-my    3Sg die-Past  
*While (I) was a child, my father died.*

It is the context which indicates that the underlying subject of the nominal predicate *to be a child* is *I* rather than *my father*, since the translation *My father died while he was a child* would be absurd (providing *my father* here is the speaker's actual father). An enclitic pronoun such as 1Sg (*ṇa*)*ra* can be added after *-ṭaṇ?* if necessary to specify the underlying subject in ambiguous contexts: *yu:ṭu-ṭaṇ? + ra while I was a child*.



Note also the very common interrogative *ḡa:-taṇ?* *when* from *ḡa: what?*.

### 3.18. gapu-wa

We should also mention the irregular but common form *gapu-wa* *in the water; underwater* from *gapu water*. Here *-wa* could be a frozen vestige of a Genitive-Dative allomorph found in *Duwal*, another Yuulngu language.

### 3.19. Semblative -?wañji?

This suffix is common after noun stems: *bakara-?wañji?* *like long-necked tortoise*. The particle *ḡakana* or *ḡakanaṇ* *like*, which precedes the modified noun, can also be added: *ḡakana bakara-?wañji?*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRONOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

#### 4.1. Pronominal Stems

In Table 4-1 we present the basic paradigms for all personal pronominal stems. Case suffixes other than the Accusative and Genitive-Dative are added to the Oblique stem.

Each pronoun can be used as an independent word, e.g. at the beginning of its clause. However, the Nominative and Accusative are most often enclitic to the first constituent in their clause, and the Genitive-Dative is often also enclitic to the first constituent (Dative) or juxtaposed to the possessed noun (Genitive). Other case forms of pronouns are usually not enclitics.

When functioning as enclitics, the parenthesised initial syllables of some pronouns shown in Table 4-1 are optionally omitted, so that (ŋa)li is reduced to li, etc. In the case of the 1Sg pronoun (ŋa)ra, there are some restrictions on this omission, evidently because speakers tend to avoid certain surface clusters where the second consonant is r. Therefore most of my informants avoided the reduction of (ŋa)ra to ra following stops and nasals, and to some extent liquids, while permitting it freely following semivowels, vowels, and ?.

The 3Sg Accusative form (ŋi)ña is almost always reduced to ña in enclitic position, so that the full form ŋiña is uncommon except clause-initially.

By examining the table closely it is possible to observe several instances where a stem-final syllable has been truncated in the suffixless Nominative. Leaving aside the problematic 1InDu for the time being, note the loss of stem-final -lu- or -la- in the Nominative of the 1ExDu, 1ExPl, 1InPl, and 2Pl paradigms.

An instance of stem-internal contraction can be seen in the 1ExDu paradigm, where ŋañala- reflects historical \*ŋaliñala-; note that \*-li- is preserved in the (truncated) Nominative (ŋa)liñu.

TABLE 4-1  
Personal Pronouns

	Nom	Acc	Gen-Dat	Oblique
1Sg	(ŋa)ra	(ŋa)ra-ŋa	(ŋa)ra-ku	ŋara-
1ExDu	(ŋa)liñu	(ŋa)ñala-ŋa	(ŋa)ñala-ŋu	ŋañala-ŋ-
1ExPl	(ŋa)napu	(ŋa)napulu-ŋa	(ŋa)napulu-ŋu	ŋanapulu-ŋ-
1InDu	(ŋa)li	(ŋa)li-çi	(ŋa)li-çi	ŋali-çi-ŋ-
1InPl	(ŋa)lima	(ŋa)limala-ŋa	(ŋa)limala-ŋu	ŋalimala-ŋ-
2Sg	ŋi:	ŋu-na	ŋu-ŋu	ŋu:-
2Du	ŋumaɖa	ŋumaɖa-ŋa	ŋumaɖa-ŋu	ŋumaɖa-ŋ-
2Pl	ŋuma	ŋumala-ŋa	ŋumala-ŋu	ŋumala-ŋ-
3Sg	ŋay~ŋa	(ŋi)ña	ŋan-ŋu	ŋanu-
3Du	maŋɖa	maŋɖa-ŋa	maŋɖa-ŋu	maŋɖa-ŋ-
3Pl	ɖali	ɖali-ña	ɖali-ŋu	ɖali-ŋ-

It is possible to analyse some of the stems into two or more component morphemes, though such internal morpheme breaks are not indicated in the table. To begin with, we can identify ŋa- and ŋu- as the basic first and second person markers, respectively. Note that ŋa- is used in the Inclusive as well as Exclusive. We can probably take -li- as the Inclusive morpheme. The element -ma(la)- found in the 1InPl and 2Pl paradigms is a Pl suffix related to the noun *mala group*. 2Du ŋu-maɖa contains a Du ending etymologically identical to the 3Du stem maŋɖa, and indeed that latter is occasionally pronounced maɖa by certain informants such as Banjar. 3Sg Accusative (ŋi)ña probably reflects \*ŋay-ña, showing the same stem as the Nominative.

The Oblique stem is formed in the case of nonsingular pronouns by adding -ŋ- to the same stem used before the Accusative and Genitive-Dative suffixes; in the 1InDu it is added to the complete Acc and Gen-Dat form. In 1Sg ŋara- there is no Oblique affix, while in the 2Sg and 3Sg the Oblique stem is irregular.

#### 4.2. Use of the Third Person Pronouns

Like other pronouns, third person pronouns use the Nominative in (intransitive or transitive) subject function only, never in direct object function. Therefore an Ergative NP is replaced or cross-referenced by a Nominative third person pronoun:

bu-maṛa + ḡali-ña + ḡay ḡaramu-ḡu  
 kill-Past 3Pl-Acc 3Sg man-Erg  
*The man killed them.*

Here ḡay is a Nominative enclitic to bu-maṛa, the first constituent of the clause, and cross-references Ergative ḡaramu-ḡu.

'Lower' animate and inanimate NP's may be replaced or cross-referenced by third person Nominative pronouns, but not by third person Accusative, Dative, or Oblique pronouns. In the following sentence, 3Sg Nominative ḡay may refer to a singular human, animate, or inanimate entity:

ḡi:na-Ø + ḡay  
 sit-Pres 3Sg  
*He/it is sitting.*

However, 3Sg Accusative (ḡi)ña can only refer to a human or 'higher' animate NP. Consider these examples, first with 'higher' animate wurpaṇ emu, then 'lower' animate guya fish, as direct objects:

ḡa:-wala + ña + ra wurpaṇ-ḡa  
 see-Past 3SgAcc 1Sg emu-Acc  
*I saw the emu.*

ḡa:-wala + ra guya  
 see-Past 1Sg  
*I saw the fish.*

In the first example, wurpaṇ-ḡa is obligatorily cross-referenced by the enclitic ña, reduced from (ḡi)ña. In the second example, such cross-referencing is impossible since (ḡi)ña cannot refer to a 'lower' animate or inanimate noun.

Similarly, forms like 3Sg Dative ḡan-ḡu and Allative ḡanu-kala-li? can only have human or 'higher' animate referents. When it is necessary to 'pronominalise' other nouns in these case categories, a demonstrative stem may be used: ḡuḡu-n?-ḡu *of/for that one*, etc.

It was noted in 3.3 that 'lower' animate and inanimate nouns cannot be pluralised even when semantically plural. Consequently, the Nominative 3Sg pronoun ḡay is used to replace or cross-reference a

semantically plural (but morphologically singular) 'lower' animate or inanimate noun. However, such nouns can take the Dual suffix *-mañji?*, and when they do are cross-referenced by 3Du Nominative *mañda* as in this example:

*da:ra-Ø + mañda nu:ka?-mañji?*  
*stand-Pres 3Du stone-Du*  
*The two stone (hills) stand.*

#### 4.3. Suffixes used with Pronominal Stems

The Accusative suffixes shown in Table 4-1 are mostly of the form *-Na* with variable nasal; cf. 2.4 for discussion. Most pronouns take a Genitive-Dative allomorph *-nu* not found with nouns, but *-ku* in 1Sg *ɳara-ku* is related to *-gu* (variant *-wu*) with nouns by P-5 (Hardening of Lenis Stops). Oblique *-ŋ-* found with nonsingular pronouns has no parallels in nouns, but is possibly related to Genitive-Dative *-nu* in some way.

The forms of suffixes added to the Oblique stems are essentially identical to those found with nouns, except for the effects of P-5. This rule hardens *-guŋu* to *-kuŋu*, and so forth. This hardening can be seen in the singular forms, (1Sg *ɳara-kuŋu*, 2Sg *nu:-kuŋu*, 3Sg *ɳanu-kuŋu*), but in the other forms the hardening is negated by P-2 (Postconsonantal Lenition) triggered by the nasal augment *-ŋ-*, e.g. in 3Pl *ɳali-ŋ-guŋu* from intermediate */ɳali-ŋ-kuŋu/*.

The suffixes *-kuru?* (Pergressive), *-puy* (Associative), *-bala* (Directional), and *-ɳaŋ?* (Temporal) are not attested with pronominal stems in my data. Perhaps an occasional pronominal form with *-kuru?* could have been elicited, but it is unlikely that any of the other three could occur with pronouns.

The 1InDu paradigm is obviously irregular, with an ending *-çi* in all forms except the Nominative.

#### 4.4. *-kulu-y*

The ending *-kulu-y* is attested only with pronominal stems. It is used instead of Genitive *-ku/-gu/-nu* when the possessed noun is in the Ergative-Instrumental case. Thus the 'declension' of *ɳara-ku waɳu* *my dog* is this:

<i>ɳara-ku waɳu</i>	Nominative
<i>ɳara-ku waɳu-ŋa</i>	Accusative
<i>ɳara-kulu-y waɳu-y</i>	Ergative-Instrumental
<i>ɳara-ku waɳu-gu</i>	Genitive-Dative
<i>ɳara-ku waɳu-li?</i>	Allative

and so forth.

Note that *-kulu-y* is the only explicitly marked case form based on the Genitive-Dative suffix. Other case forms simply take the regular Genitive-Dative form for the possessor, here *ɲara-ku*. (However, under some conditions a Genitive pronoun - or noun - can lose its Genitive marking altogether and assume the case form of the possessed noun, cf. 9.16).

The segmentation of *-kuluy* as *-kulu-y* is somewhat unclear. I am taking *-kulu-* as a variant of Locative Increment *-kala-* and *-y* as Ergative-Instrumental allomorph *-y*. I prefer not to segment *-kuluy* as *-ku-luy*, taking *-ku-* as Genitive-Dative *-ku*, since *-kuluy* does not show initial alternations found with the Genitive-Dative (contrast 3Sg Genitive-Dative *ɲan-ɲu* with the *-kuluy* form *ɲanu-kuluy*). The parallelism is reasonable since *-kulu-* in *-kulu-y* and LocIncr *-kala-* share the property of being used chiefly between a stem and a case-ending.

The conversion of Genitive-Dative *-ku/-gu/-ɲu* into *-kulu-y* when modifying an Ergative-Instrumental noun is not obligatory, so that *ɲara-ku waɬu-y* sometimes occurs in texts for expected *ɲara-kulu-y waɬu-y*. Sometimes when a kin term is both preceded and followed by pronominal Genitive forms the first is Genitive-Dative and the second is with *-kulu-y*, as in *ɲan-ɲu guruŋ-ɖu ɲanu-kulu-y his mother-in-law* (Erg).

The form *-kulu-y* cannot be used with noun stems, hence *ba:pa-ŋ?-gu waɬu-y my father's dog* (Erg) rather than *\*ba:pa-ŋ?-gulu-y waɬu-y*.

#### 4.5. Emphatics with *-pi-*

The Emphatic suffix *-pi-* is added to pronominal forms to weakly emphasise them. Examples with 1Sg *ɲara-* are Nominative *ɲara-pi*, Accusative *ɲara-ɲa-pi*, and Genitive-Dative *ɲara-ku-pi*. When *-pi-* is added to a suffix complex consisting of Locative Increment *-kala-* (from *-gala-* by P-5) and a following case suffix, *-pi-* is put in between: *ɲu:-kala-pi-li? to you*. It follows *-kulu-y*, hence *ɲu:-kulu-y-pi* (cf. 4.4).

#### 4.6. Contrastive Emphatics with *ya*

One of the functions of the very common enclitic particle *ya* is to emphasise pronouns. The particular nuance here is that the pronoun in question is contrasted with another pronoun (or noun), especially when the two are in parallel, juxtaposed clauses. An example:

ɣali + ya wa:ni-na ɲum-bala ɲara + ya wa:ni-na lili  
 3Pl            go-Past    that way 1Sg            go-Past    this way  
*They went that way, while I came this way.*

Here both pronouns, one in each clause, are emphasised with *ya*. However, it is also possible to limit the use of *ya* to the second clause, so that the first clause here can be replaced by *wa:ni-na + ɣali ɲum-bala*, the simple translation of *They went that way*.

Phonological specialisation may be found when 3Sg ɲay or 2Sg ɲi: are followed by *ya*. The combinations show up as 3Sg ɲaɲ + ja and 2Sg ɲi:ɲ + ja, with ja from /ya/ by regular application of P-3. In the 3Sg case, regular ɲa(y) + ya is more common than ɲaɲ + ja, but in the 2Sg ɲi:ɲ + ja is standard.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE DEMONSTRATIVE SYSTEM

#### 5.1. Demonstrative Stems

The basic stems used in demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are these:

yaku-	Proximate
yiki-	Immediate
ɲuki-	Near-Distant
ɲuli-	Near-Distant
ɲuku-	Far-Distant
ɲula-	Far-Distant

Proximate is the region near the speaker; its range varies according to context. Immediate is a region fairly close to the speaker and addressee, or to the addressee alone. The remaining four stems are used with reference to regions outside the Proximate and Immediate ones.

In texts, ɲuki- and ɲuku- are difficult to distinguish, since they are often found in the suffixless Nominative form, followed by enclitic *gi* or *ya*. I have had difficulty hearing the difference between ɲuku + *gi* and ɲuki + *gi*, for example, and I am not convinced that such a distinction is consistently made in normal speech. However, in suffixed forms such as the extended Nominative ɲuku-n?-na, ɲuki-n?-na, the two stems are easy to distinguish. The glosses 'Near-Distant' and 'Far-Distant' appear to be fairly accurate indications of their semantic difference in environments where they are distinguishable, although not every example in the corpus is consistent with these glosses. It does not appear that visibility as such is involved, since ɲuku- can be applied to objects which are rather distant but still visible.

The stems *ɲula-* and *ɲuli-* are uncommon (they are much more common in other Yuulngu languages like *Duwal*). At least in the Nominative, *ɲula* seems to be used as a particle indicating indefinite or generalised reference (*anything, any kind, whatever*), as in Texts 38.1 and 33.3. In the latter text we find the combination *ɲa: ɲula anything* (indefinite reference), including *ɲa: what*, which is also found in some other Yuulngu languages.

The stem *ɲuli-* occurs twice in texts (Texts 23, 21.1) and appears to be explicitly anaphoric: *that (same) one*. It appears that it refers to places (rather than beings) in these textual examples, hence (*at*) *that same place*, and is thus syntactically parallel to the use of demonstrative 'pronouns' as translation equivalents of English adverbs like *there* (9.13). Even in this sense, *ɲuli-* is far less common than other anaphoric devices, principally the addition of enclitic *ɲi* (5.7) to simple demonstrative pronouns or adverbs based on other stems (e.g. *ɲuŋʔ-ɲiɲi + ɲi at that same place; there again*).

Neither *ɲula-* nor *ɲuli-* occurs in non-Nominative case forms in the texts, though it was possible to elicit the paradigms shown in the table with little difficulty.

## 5.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Table 5-1 shows the basic singular case forms of the stems *yaku-*, *yiki-* and *ɲuli-*. The paradigm of *ɲuki-* is identical to that of *yiki-*, while *ɲuku-* has the same paradigm as *yaku-*, and *ɲula-* has the same paradigm as *ɲuli-*.

It should be noted that there are irregular augments following the stem before certain suffixes, thus *-nʔ-* in several case forms, *-ʔ-* before Locative *-ɲaɲa*, and *-r-* before Ablative *-ɲuɲuʔ*. The stems *ɲuli-* and *ɲula-* do not take *-r-*. Note also that in the simple Nominative form, *yaku-* and *ɲuku-* optionally have an extended stem in *y* (*yakuy*, *ɲukuy*).

The alternative Nominative forms in *-nʔ-na*, which also function as Accusative forms, are in free variation with the simple Nominatives. It is therefore difficult to classify demonstrative stems in terms of the trichotomy of case systems mentioned in 3.5. With demonstrative pronouns, we have a clearly defined Ergative case, but the Accusative is not rigorously distinguishable from the Nominative, though the simple Nominatives cannot be used as direct object forms for human and 'higher' animate nouns. Demonstrative pronouns pattern with nouns rather than with personal pronouns, but show only a hazy rather than sharp bifurcation of human and 'higher' animate vs. 'lower' animate and inanimate.

Demonstrative stems with medial *k* optionally, but often, change this to *ŋ* in assimilation to the nasal in the augment *-nʔ-*, hence *yaku-nʔ-na~yaŋu-nʔ-na*, etc.

TABLE 5-1  
Demonstrative Pronouns

Nom (simple)	{ yaku yakuy	yiki	ŋuli
Nom (extended)	{ yaku-nʔ-na yaŋu-nʔ-na	yiki-nʔ-na yiŋi-nʔ-na	ŋuli-nʔ-na
Gen-Dat	{ yaku-nʔ-gu yaŋu-nʔ-gu	yiki-nʔ-gu yiŋi-nʔ-gu	ŋuli-nʔ-gu
Originative	{ yaku-nʔ-guŋu yaŋu-nʔ-guŋu	yiki-nʔ-guŋu yiŋi-nʔ-guŋu	ŋuli-nʔ-guŋu
Locative	yaku-ʔ-ŋaʔa	yiki-ʔ-ŋaʔa	ŋuli-ʔ-ŋaʔa
Ablative	yaku-r-ŋuʔuʔ	yiki-r-ŋuʔuʔ	ŋuli-ŋuʔuʔ
LocIncr	{ yaku-nʔ-gala- yaŋu-nʔ-gala-	yiki-nʔ-gala- yiŋi-nʔ-gala-	ŋuli-nʔ-gala-
Pergressive	yaku-kuruʔ	yiki-kuruʔ	ŋuli-kuruʔ
Associative	yaku-puy	yiki-puy	ŋuli-puy
Directional	yaku-wala	yiki-wala	ŋuli-wala

The Locative and Ablative forms shown in Table 5-1 are those used with 'lower' animate and inanimate referents. For 'higher' animate and human referents, Loc -ŋaʔa and Abl -ŋuʔuʔ are added to the LocIncr forms with -gala-, hence *yaku-nʔ-gala-ŋuʔuʔ* *from this (man)*.

No combinations of demonstrative stems followed by All -liʔ could be elicited. Instead, Directional -bala (normally lenited to -wala) is used, as indicated in the table. Forms like *yaku-wala* can be translated *toward this; this way*. With human and 'higher' animate referents, All -liʔ can be added to the LocIncr form with -gala-, as in *yaku-nʔ-gala-liʔ* *to this (man)*.

In addition to the forms with Per -kuruʔ shown in the table, a variant with augment -ʔ- occurred once in a text: *ŋuki-ʔ-guruʔ* *through that* (Text 24.2).

### 5.3. Initial Truncation

The initial  $\eta$  of the stems  $\eta u k u-$  and  $\eta u k i-$  is occasionally omitted, especially by Wa:gilak speakers, hence  $u k u$ ,  $u k i$ . If there are precise conditions under which this reduction occurs, I have not discovered them due to the limited extent of Wa:gilak material available to me. It may be that the truncation is possible only when the preceding word ends in a vowel, as in this example:

$\eta a:$      $u k i + y a$   
*what? that*  
*What is that?*

In rapid speech, speakers from all  $ma\grave{a}$  groups occasionally drop the initial syllable  $\eta u$ , especially in the stem-form  $\eta u \eta u - n ?-$  after the stem-medial /k/ becomes  $\eta$ . Hence  $\eta u - n ? - g u$  (Gen-Dat) occasionally in texts instead of  $\eta u \eta u - n ? - g u$ .

### 5.4. Dual and Plural Forms

The regular nonsingular suffixes, Du  $-ma\tilde{n}ji?$  and (human and 'higher' animate) Pl  $-wa\check{c}$ , are added directly to the simple stems ( $yaku - ma\tilde{n}ji?$ ,  $yiki - wa\check{c}$ , etc.) or to the extended stems with  $-n?-na$  ( $yaku - n?-na - ma\tilde{n}ji?$ ,  $yiki - n?-na - wa\check{c}$ , etc.). The former type is more common than the latter. Case suffixes can then be added to these complexes, hence Gen-Dat  $yaku - ma\tilde{n}ji? - gu$  or  $yaku - n?-na - ma\tilde{n}ji? - gu$ , etc.

There is also a special Collective suffix  $-mi\grave{t}jin$  used only with demonstrative pronouns:  $yaku - mi\grave{t}jin$  *this bunch* (in local English *this mob*),  $\eta u k u - mi\grave{t}jin$  *that bunch*, etc. Suffixes follow: Ergative  $yaku - mi\grave{t}jin - \grave{g}u$ , etc. For purposes of agreement a form like  $yaku - mi\grave{t}jin$  is treated as Pl.

### 5.5. Demonstrative Adverbs

The important demonstrative adverbs are related rather obscurely to the demonstrative forms seen so far. Consider these:

$\eta u m - bala$	}	<i>that way, to there, thither</i>
$bala$		
$lili$		<i>this way, to here</i>
$lili - kuru?$		<i>(on) this side</i>
$\eta u \eta ? - \eta a\grave{r}a$		<i>there</i>
$ya\eta ? - \eta a\grave{r}a$		<i>here</i>
$bi:-wala$		<i>to there (indefinite distant location)</i>
$bi:-\eta u \eta u ?$		<i>from there (indefinite distant location)</i>

The common Directional adverbs are *num-bala* (and its variant *bala*) and *lili*. The common Locative adverbs are *nuŋ?-ŋaŋa* and *yaŋ?-ŋaŋa*. Note that *num-* and *nuŋ?-* appear to be related to the demonstrative pronominal stems *ŋuku-* and *ŋuki-*, while *yaŋ?-* is related to *yaku-*. However, whereas the demonstrative pronouns (even disregarding *ŋula* and *ŋuli*) distinguish four stems, there is only a binary opposition in these adverbs, proximate/distant.

It is tempting to take *bala* as a reduced form of *num-bala* (i.e. demonstrative stem *num-* plus Directional *-bala*, cf. 3.16). However, historically this may be incorrect, since *bala* (but not *num-bala*) occurs in other Yuulngu languages like *Duwal*. Perhaps *bala* was originally a simple adverb which later became fused to other stems (including *num-*) as a Directional suffix.

The form *lili* appears to be unrelated to proximate *yaŋ?-* and its variants. Conceivably *lili* is reduced from *\*X-lili*, with *\*X* some form of the proximate stem; cf. Allative *-li?* (and its cognates like *-lil* and *-lili* in other Yuulngu languages). Again, however, we could just as well take *lili* as historically basic and think of Allative *-li?* as a fused version thereof. In favour of the former interpretation we may note that *lili* does not seem to occur as an independent adverb in other Yuulngu languages (which do have Allative *-lil*, etc.), and that it is the only word in *Ritharngu* beginning with apicoalveolar *l* (initial apicals are normally retroflexed) - this suggests that *lili* may once have been word-medial (i.e. in *\*X-lili*), where morpheme-initial apicoalveolars are permitted.

The form *lili-kuru?* is simply the Per of *lili*, though in a specialised sense. For the opposite (*that side*) see the forms of *!aypa* in (5.6).

The stem *bi:-* furnishes the two adverbs shown, neither of which is common (for *bi:-ŋuŋu?* see Text 38.1). The form *bi:-wala* is much less common than *num-bala*, and indeed is less common than Directional forms of demonstrative pronouns like *yaku-wala* in Table 5-1. The form *bi:-ŋuŋu?* is likewise far less common than *ŋuku-r-ŋuŋu?* *from that*; *from there* and the like. The sense of *bi:-* seems to be indefinite distant location, hence *somewhere* is a reasonable translation. This stem is much more common in other Yuulngu languages like *Duwal*, where *bi:* can also occur without suffixes (in *Duwal* it then has the sense *because*).

## 5.6. Cardinal Directions, etc.

Cardinal-direction adverbs (including *up* and *other side*) are shown in Table 5-2. The semantically Locative forms are morphologically unsuffixed. The Directional suffix is *-bala* (not Allative *-li?*). This regularly lenites to *-wala* in *ḡaṇi-wala*, but further irregular contractions occur in several other combinations. The Ablative forms are regular.

The usual way of saying *downward* is *maya-li?*, the Allative form of *maya bottom*. Locative *at the bottom, below*, is *maya-ḡaṛa* with Locative *-ḡaṛa*, but this is often irregularly contracted to *maya-ḡa*.

The adverbs *ḡiripi* and *ḡiripa-la* are attested occasionally instead of *maya-ḡa(ṛa)* and *maya-li?*, respectively. Perhaps the difference between them is that *ḡiripi* and *ḡiripa-la* mean *downhill, downriver*, while *maya-ḡa(ṛa)* and *maya-li?* indicate position on a vertical axis. Cf. Nunggubuyu *ḡiribala downward; downhill, downriver*.

Similarly, an Allative adverb *walama-la* found occasionally instead of *garawa-la upward* (Table 5-2) may specifically mean *uphill, upriver*.

TABLE 5-2

## Cardinal-Direction and Similar Adverbs

	Locative	Directional	Ablative
<i>east</i>	ṛawaraṇ	ṛawaraṇ-bala	ṛawaraṇ-ḡuṛu?
<i>north</i>	ḡuruṛuy	ḡuruṛa-la	ḡuruṛuy-ḡuṛu?
<i>west</i>	ḡaṇi	ḡaṇi-wala	ḡaṇi-ḡuṛu?
<i>south</i>	ba:ḡay	ba:ḡa-la	ba:ḡay-ḡuṛu?
<i>up, above</i>	garwaṛ	garawa-la	garwaṛ-ḡuṛu?
<i>other side</i>	ḷaypa	ḷaypa-la	ḷaypa-ḡuṛu?

5.7. Enclitic *ḡi*

The enclitics *nu now* and *ya* (suggesting emphasis, contrast, or syntactic autonomy), which can be added to verbs and nouns, are fairly common with demonstratives as well. However, there is also a special enclitic *ḡi* used chiefly with demonstrative pronouns and adverbs. It may be followed (or, rarely, preceded) by *ya*, and occasionally is followed by *nu*.

Enclitic *gi* generally indicates that the referent or region designated by the demonstrative is contextually definite. Demonstrative constructions with *gi* therefore normally *refer* to an entity or region which has already been mentioned (or otherwise understood), rather than *indicating* a new entity or region. This enclitic is rare though attested with Proximate *yaku-*, and is not particularly common with Immediate *yiki-*, but is quite common with *ɲuki-* and *ɲuku-*, which indicate more distant regions, and is very common with the adverbs *ɲum-bala that way* and *ɲuŋʔ-ɲaɾa there*. After vocalic assimilation these become *ɲum-bili + gi* and *ɲuŋʔ-ɲiri + gi*, and since *ɲuki + gi* but not *\*ɲuku + gi* occurs commonly in my texts it appears that *ɲuki-* and *ɲuku-* are not distinguishable before *gi*.

Constructions with *gi* are similar in usage to what I call 'Anaphoric' demonstrative formations in other languages in the area, e.g. Nunggubuyu demonstratives with stem *(-u)ba-* and Ngandi constructions with suffix *-ñ* added to one of the regular demonstrative stems. Anaphoric demonstratives, which are very important in discourse, are therefore an areal feature, although the actual morphemes in question are not cognate from one language to another.

Many examples of *gi* can be found in the texts. The combination of *gi* with Proximate *yaku-*, and with the adverb *yaŋʔ-ɲaɾa here*, is harder to find in the texts. In these combinations *gi* is rather emphatic, so that *yiŋʔ-ɲiri + gi* can be translated *right here*. Note that since *here* is already well-defined in the context of particular speech acts, it is unnecessary to specify whether anaphoric reference to a previously-mentioned region is at hand, so *gi* is less common with Proximate forms than with others and shows semantic specialisation when it does occur.



## CHAPTER SIX

### INTERROGATION

#### 6.1. Yes/No Questions

The ordinary yes/no interrogative particle is *bay?*. It is most commonly found at the end of a sentence, and is comparable to English tag questions. An example:

wa:ni-na + nu + *ɲay bay?*  
go-Past    now    3Sg *yes/no?*  
*He has gone, hasn't he?*

It is also possible to produce yes/no questions by making an apparently factual statement in a context where it is clear that the statement is intended as a question, or by varying the intonation to overtly signal that a question is intended.

#### 6.2. *ɲa: what?*

The basic nonhuman (including 'higher' animate) interrogative pronoun is *ɲa:*. It has an ergative case system, so that Erg *ɲa:-ɬu* is used for transitive subject and Nom *ɲa:* for intransitive subject and transitive object.

Two important case forms of *ɲa:* are Dative *ɲa:-ku what for?* (also Genitive *of what?*) and Temporal *ɲa:-ɬaŋ? when?*. The form *ɲa:-ɬu*, aside from its Ergative use, is also common as an Instrumental meaning *by means of what?; how?*.

Other case forms are elicitable but uncommon: Originative *ɲa:-kuŋu*, Locative *ɲa:-ɲaɾa at what?* (not the common expression for *where?*, for which cf. below), Ablative *ɲa:-ɲuɾu?*, Allative *ɲa:-li?*, Pergressive *ɲa:-kuru?*, and Associative *ɲa:-puy*.

Suffix-initial underlying lenis stops /d,g/ are hardened to fortis /t,k/ after *ɲa:* by rule P-5 (2.4).

### 6.3. *waṛa who?*

The human interrogative pronoun is *waṛa-*. Its most notable morphological peculiarity is its Ergative form *waṛa-li*.

Like human nouns, it uses the Accusative rather than Nominative for direct object function: *waṛa-ṇa*. Before Allative *-li?* and Ablative *-ṇuṛu?* it requires the Locative Increment *-kala-* (hardened from *-gala-*), e.g. *waṛa-kala-li?* *to whom?*. Presumably if Locative *-ṇaṛa* were attested it would also require *-kala-*.

The usual Genitive-Dative is *waṛa-ku* *for whom?*; *whose?*, and as with personal pronouns this becomes *waṛa-kulu-y* when the modified noun is Ergative-Instrumental. Other attested case forms of *waṛa-* are Nominative *waṛa* (used only for intransitive subject) and Originative *waṛa-kunu* *provided by whom?*.

### 6.4. *ṇika--yika-*

The stem *ṇika-* *which?*, with a variant *yika-* characteristic of Wa:gilak speakers, is best described as an interrogative demonstrative. Its paradigm is identical to that of the demonstrative stem *yiki-* in Table 5-1, except that the specifically human or 'higher' animate forms in *-n?-gala* are unattested with *ṇika-*. Nasalised variants in *ṇiṇa-* (Wa:gilak *yṇa-*) occur optionally before the augment *-n?-* just as with demonstrative stems, hence Genitive-Dative *ṇika-n?-gu* or *ṇiṇa-n?-gu*. Other forms attested are Nominative *ṇika*, Ergative-Instrumental *ṇika-n?-ḡu* or *ṇiṇa-n?-ḡu*, Originative *ṇika-n?-guṇu* or *ṇiṇa-n?-guṇu*, Locative *ṇika-?-ṇaṛa* *at which?* (not common), Ablative *ṇika-r-ṇuṛu?* (the common expression for *from where?*), Pergressive *ṇika-kuru?*, Associative *ṇika-puy*, and Directional *ṇika-wala* (*which way?*; *to where?*).

The Nominative forms are used in the *to be where?* construction, where *where?* is the predicate of the question: *ṇika + ṇay* *Where is he?*. The referent of *ṇika* in this construction is apparently the queried location, and *ṇika* consequently does not agree with the subject in number: *ṇika + ḡali* *Where are they?* (not *\*ṇika-wač + ḡali* with Pl *-wač* agreeing with the number of 3Pl *ḡali*). See 6.5. for other forms translatable as *where?*.

Examples of the common Ablative and Directional case forms:

*ṇika-r-ṇuṛu? + ḡali wa:ni-na*  
*which?-Aug-Ab1 3Pl go-Past*  
*From where did they go/come?*

nika-wala + maṇḍa wa:ni-na  
 which?-Dir 3Du go-Past  
*Where did they (two) go?; Which way did they go?*

The Associative form -puy is common in the following interrogative sentence, which is typically asked in order to find out something about a stranger's background, specifically where he is from (by birth, residence, or clan affiliation):

nika-puy + ṇay  
 which?-Ass 3Sg  
*Where is he from?; What is his country?*

The Genitive-Dative, Locative, and Originative case forms are less common, and are used in the sense *of/for which?*, *at which?*, and *provided by which?*

#### 6.5. ṇiṇ?-ṇaṛa

The interrogative adverb ṇiṇ?-ṇaṛa *where?* is parallel in formation and syntax to the demonstrative adverbs ṇuṇ?-ṇaṛa *there* and yaṇ?-ṇaṛa *here*. An example:

ṇiṇ?-ṇaṛa + ṇi: ṛulṭa-wala  
 where? 2Sg put down-Past  
*Where did you put it?*

Basically, ṇiṇ?-ṇaṛa is used in *where?* constructions in which *where?* is not the predicate; when it is the predicate we find nika. However, there are additional complications in the rules determining which type is to be used; since these apply also to demonstrative pronouns and adverbs they will be dealt with in 9.13.

#### 6.6. wa:ʔ-bala

An interrogative adverb wa:ʔ-bala containing Directional -bala and stem wa:ʔ- is found occasionally in the sense *which way?; to where?*. It seems to be indistinguishable semantically from nika-wala (6.4). An example:

wa:ʔ-bala + ṇay wa:ni-na  
 which way? 3Sg go-Past  
*Which way did he go?; Where did he go?*

Sometimes this adverb is abbreviated to wa:ʔ without suffixation:

wa:ʔ            +        ɲara wa:n-i  
*which way?        1Sg go-Fut*  
*Where shall I go?*

### 6.7. Self-Interrogation

When the speaker forgets a noun (perhaps a proper noun), he may ask himself out loud ɲa:wu~ɲa:wuy *what's-it?*. This is similar to English 'whatchamacallit' and its regional variations, but is far more common. It can take case endings if it is in a sentence, e.g. Accusative ɲa:wu-ɲa.

When the forgotten noun is a place name, the form ɲa:yka or ɲayka is used instead of ɲa:wu(y). The distinction between the two is also found in Ngandi: -jara *what's-it?*, bičara *what's-it place?*.

### 6.8. Interrogative Verbs

The two basic interrogative verb stems in Ritharngu are ɲanʔ-ɲi- and wa:ʔ-ɲi- (variant ɲa:ʔ-ɲi-), both containing Inchoative verbaliser -ɲi-. I have been unable to distinguish the meanings of the two. Interrogative sentences like wa:ʔ-ɲi-ri + ɲi: can have meanings like *What are you doing?* or *What do you think?*, and any single translation would fail to indicate the range of possible uses which these verbs have.

From ɲawu(y) *what's-it?* (6.7) can be formed the Inchoative derivative ɲawu-ɲi- *to be what's-it?*, used when the speaker intends to use an Inchoative verbalisation of a particular noun but cannot remember the noun. Another derivative is ɲawuyʔ-yu-, inflected as a class 5 verb with Thematising Increment -yu-, meaning *to do what's-it?*. This is used when the speaker cannot remember the verb which is appropriate to the clause in question.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

#### 7.1. General

In this chapter we will deal with Ritharngu verbs, emphasising analysis of inflectional paradigms. In sections 7.2 through 7.5 we deal with derivational suffixes which come between the stem and inflectional suffix and alter the verb class of the simple stem. Paradigms for combinations ending in these derivational suffixes are given in sections 7.20 through 7.23. Derivational prefixes added to verbs are not easily distinguishable from initial compounding elements, so a discussion of these is postponed until the next chapter.

Sections 7.7 through 7.12 describe the paradigms of the productive verb classes. Paradigms of irregular verbs are given in 7.13 through 7.19. The semantics and uses of the major inflectional categories, and of the two nominalised forms, are described in 7.25, 7.27, and 7.28, while the Imperative is discussed in 7.26.

#### 7.2. Inchoative -*ɬi*-

The term 'Inchoative' is applied to Ritharngu -*ɬi*- following the practice of B. Schebeck. The suffix is added to noun stems, including those of adjectival sense, to create verbal constructions most often meaning *to become X*. An example is *ɖa:l-ɬi-* or *ɖa:l-ŋu-ɬi-* *to become strong* from *ɖa:l* or *ɖa:l-ŋu* *strong*.

Among the most common examples is *ja:l-ɬi-* *to desire* from *ja:l* *desirous*. Another common example is *mu:kuy-ɬi-* *to die* from *mu:kuy* *devil, ghost*.

The Inchoative suffix cannot be followed by Causative -*maɾa-*. Instead, Factitive -*ɬa-* (7.3) replaces -*ɬi-*, forming its equivalent of the Causative. The combination of Inchoative -*ɬi-* with following Reflexive-Reciprocal -*mi-* is likewise unattested.

### 7.3. Factitive -ṭa-

The suffix -ṭa-, which will be labelled 'Factitive' replaces Inchoative -ṭi-, forming a transitive stem translatable *to cause to become X* or *to make X*, where X is the nominal stem. It is thus the equivalent of the Causative with other types of verbs. Thus from *guñjaṭ-di- to become frightened* is derived Factitive *guñjaṭ-da- to frighten (i.e. to cause to become frightened, to make frightened)*.

The Factitive suffix may be followed by Reflexive-Reciprocal -mi-, producing -ṭa-na-mi- with augment -na-.

### 7.4. Causative -maṛa-

This is the productive Causative suffix in the language. It can be added to stems of any morphological class, except derivatives ending in Inchoative -ṭi- or Factitive -ṭa-. It also appears to be impossible following Reflexive-Reciprocal -mi-, so I have been unable to elicit translations for *I caused them to hit each other* using a single verb form. However, the reverse derivation does occur, so that -mi- can be added to -maṛa- (the actual form is -maṛa-na-mi- with an augment -na-), as in *barṭ-yu-n-maṛa-na-mi- to cause each other to split; to cause itself to split*.

An example of the simple Causative is *barṭ-yu-n-maṛa- to split (trans.)* from class 5 stem *barṭ-yu- to become split*. Here there is an augment -n- before the Causative suffix. Details concerning the use of such augments will be given below in the paradigms for each verb class.

### 7.5. Reflexive-Reciprocal -mi-

An example of this showing the Reciprocal sense is *bu-na-mi- to hit each other, to fight* from *bu- to hit, to kill*. In this instance -mi- signals the coreferentiality of the underlying subjects and direct objects. However, in the example *!akaṛa-na-mi- to tell each other*, -mi- indicates the coreferentiality of the underlying subjects and indirect objects, since the simple verb *!akaṛa- to tell* takes nouns like *ḡa:wu word(s)* and *ḡaṇuñ story* as direct objects and the addressees are treated as indirect objects with Dative case.

A (normally) Reflexive example is *ḡak-u-n-mi- to cut oneself*. However, this can also be used as a Reciprocal *to cut each other*. On occasion there is no way to differentiate the Reciprocal and Reflexive senses, but usually the context provides the answer. Thus if the grammatical subject of the clause is singular, a verbal construction with -mi- can only be Reflexive.

The suffix may be added to derivatives ending in Causative *-maṛa-* or Factitive *-ṭa-*, as exemplified in the previous sections. It is normally not added to forms with Inchoative *-ṭi-*, since such combinations are intransitive, and *-mi-* is of course normally added to transitive stems (creating derived intransitives).

However, there is an occasional example of *-mi-* added to an intransitive base, indicating the participation of two or more entities in a joint activity. Thus *ṇa:ṭi-na-mi-* *to cry together* from class 1 *ṇa:ṭi-* *to cry, to weep*. Another example is *wa:ni-na-mi-* *to go together*, but this is less common than compounded *baṭa-wani-* *to go together*.

It is important to distinguish constructions with Reflexive-Reciprocal *-mi-* (Present tense *-mi-ri*) from compounds with the nominal Proprietative suffix *-miri* *having, endowed with*. The Present tense form *wa:ni-na-mi-ri* *go together* is homophonous with nominal *wa:ni-na-miri* *endowed with walking, capable of walking*, and the latter can be used as a predicate in equational sentences. Thus the following two sentences are phonologically identical:

*wa:ni-na-mi-ri* + *ḡali*  
*go-Aug-Recip-Pres* 3Pl  
*They are going together.*

*wa:ni-na-miri* + *ḡali*  
*go-Nom-Prop* 3Pl  
*They are capable of going.*

The two constructions are distinguishable in a number of ways. First, only the Proprietative construction can occur with singular subject. Secondly, when the subjects are nonsingular it is possible to add Du *-mañji?* or Pl *-wač* to Proprietative *-miri*, though this is usually omitted. The verbal suffix *-mi-* forms Past tense *-mi-na* and shows other verbal endings which are impossible with *-miri*.

#### 7.6. Etymologies for *-mi-* and *-ṭi-*

Although *wa:ni-na-mi-ri* and *wa:ni-na-miri* (7.5) are synchronically distinct both syntactically and semantically, I believe they are identical historically. Specifically, I feel that the Reflexive-Reciprocal suffix *-mi-* represents reanalysis of some instances of Proprietative *-miri* as a Present tense verb form, with consequent analogical creation of Past tense *-mi-na* and other inflectional forms, based on productive endings from other verb classes such as Past *-na*.



The single original construction \*wa:ni-na-miri, with \*-miri added to a nominalised verb with Nominaliser \*-na-, has thus split into two constructions. In the new Reflexive-Reciprocal construction, Nominaliser \*-na- has been reinterpreted as a meaningless augment.

Similarly, it is likely that Inchoative -ḡi- (Present tense -ḡi-ri) represents reanalysis of an older suffix \*-ḡiri, found in one form or another in many Australian languages, often in Reciprocal or Reflexive uses.

### 7.7. Class 1 Verbs

Class 1 consists of a small number of stems ending in i. The only class 1 stems I know of are wa:ni- *to go*, ɲa:ḡi- *to weep*, and gukari- *to go hunting*. The following is the paradigm of wa:ni-:

Present	wa:ni-Ø
Past	wa:ni-na~wa:ni-ña
Future	wa:n-i /wa:ni-i/
Past Potential	wa:n-i-ya /wa:ni-i-a/
Infinitive	wa:ni-ña-ṛawu
Refl-Recip	wa:ni-na-mi--wa:ni-ña-mi-
Causative	wa:ni-na-maṛa--wa:ni-ña-maṛa-
Nominalisation	wa:ni-na--wa:ni-ña-

By comparing these forms with those of class 2 (7.8), it can be seen that the homophonous class 1 Present and Future forms are formally distinct, with suffixes -Ø and -i, respectively. This is indicated above by showing the base forms enclosed by slashes // after the relevant forms.

The morpheme -Na- is used as the Past suffix, the Nominaliser, and an augment before derivational suffixes. It alternates between -na- and -ña-, except that -ña- has generalised before Infinitive -ṛawu.

### 7.8. Class 2 Verbs

Class 2 has a paradigm quite similar to that of class 1. It contains a small number of stems, most of them common, including ɲi:na- *to sit*, ɠa:ra- *to stand*, ɲu:ra- *to lie down; to sleep*, and ɭuka- *to eat, to consume*. Attested forms of ɭuka- are:

Present	luka-Ø
Past	luka-ŋa
Future	luk-i /luka-i/
Past Potential	luk-i-ya /luka-i-a/
Infinitive	luka-ŋa-ɾawu
Refl-Recip	luka-ŋa-mi-
Causative	luka-ʔ-maɾa-
Nominalisation	luka-ŋa-

The stems *ŋu:ra-* to lie down; to sleep and *ɔa:ra-* to stand also have an alternative Past form *ŋu:r-ŋana* and *ɔa:r-ŋana*.

The class 2 stem *guyupa-* to die takes Past *-na*, and Nominaliser and augment *-na-*, with apicoalveolar rather than interdental nasal (2.4).

Note the unusual augment *-ʔ-* in Causative *luka-ʔ-maɾa-*.

### 7.9. Class 3 Verbs

This class consists of about six stems ending in *ɬa* or *pa*, including *ŋupa-* to chase, *baɬa-* to burn (trans.), and *gu:ɬa-* to roast in a stone oven. The following is the paradigm of *ŋupa-*:

Present	ŋupa-n
Past	ŋupa-na
Future	ŋupu-ru /ŋupa-ru/
Past Potential	ŋupa-r-a /ŋupa-ru-a/
Infinitive	ŋupa-na-ɾawu
Refl-Recip	ŋupa-n-mi-
Causative	ŋupa-n-maɾa-
Nominalisation	ŋupa-na-

Features distinguishing this paradigm from those of classes 1 and 2 are the Future in *-ru*, the Present in *-n*, and the reduction of the augment to *-n-* before derivational suffixes beginning in *m*. These features are shared with class 5, except that in class 5 the augment is also reduced to *-n-* before Infinitive *-ɾawu*. Another important difference between classes 3 and 5 is that class 5 but not class 3 stems are segmentable into a root plus a Thematising Increment *-Cu-*.

For the phonology of Future *ŋupu-ru* and Past Potential *ŋupa-r-a*, cf. 2.7, 2.8, and 2.10.

## 7.10. Class 4 Verbs

This class contains about seven stems ending in *a*, plus *garpi-* to coil or wrap around. Some of the stems in *a* are common, e.g. *gaṭa-* to hold, *ṇanapa-* to build a fire, *gurupa-* to give. Another is *ṇuka-* to copulate with. The paradigm of *gaṭa-* is this:

Present	gaṭa-ṇ
Past	gaṭa-ṛa~gaṭa-laṛa
Future	gaṭu-lu /gaṭa-lu/
Past Potential	gaṭa-l-a /gaṭa-lu-a/
Infinitive	gaṭa-n-ṛawu
Refl-Recip	gaṭa-ṇ-mi-
Causative	gaṭa-ṇ-maṛa-
Nominalisation	gaṭa-na-

The Present ends in retroflexed *-ṇ*, not apicoalveolar *-n* as in classes 3 and 5. The augment before derivational suffixes is likewise *-ṇ-*, except in the combination *-n-ṛawu*, which is possibly dissimilated from *\*-ṇ-ṛawu*. Past *gaṭa-ṛa* is a little more common than the alternative form *gaṭa-laṛa*, but the latter is attested several times in my data. These Past suffixes, as well as Future *-lu*, are unique to this class.

## 7.11. Class 5 Verbs

This is by far the largest class of verbs in Ritharngu, including more than one hundred stems. Each stem consists of a root, usually of the form CVC- or CVCVC-, where medial C may represent a cluster, plus a Thematising Increment *-Cu-* (for the phonology cf. 2.6). The paradigm of *jaraṇ?-ju-* to push is this:

Present	jaraṇ?-ju-n
Past	jaraṇ?-ju-na
Future	jaraṇ?-ju-ru
Past Potential	jaraṇ?-ju-r-a /jaraṇ?-ju-ru-a/
Infinitive	jaraṇ?-ju-n-ṛawu
Refl-Recip	jaraṇ?-ju-n-mi-
Causative	jaraṇ?-ju-n-maṛa-
Nominalisation	jaraṇ?-ju-na-

The suffixes are largely identical to those used with class 3 stems.

The segment -Cu-n- is optionally omitted in the Causative and Refl-Recip combinations, so that *jarañ?-ju-n-maṛa-* has a variant *jarañ?-maṛa-* and *jarañ?-ju-n-mi-* has a variant *jarañ?-mi-*. Furthermore, the segment -Cu- is optionally omitted in the Past form, so that *jarañ?-na* occurs alongside *jarañ?-ju-na*. These segments, however, are never omitted in the Present, Future, Past Potential, Infinitive, or Nominalised forms.

### 7.12. Class 6 Verbs

Class 6 is a fairly large class, certainly the largest except for class 5. Two subclasses, 6A and 6B, are distinguishable on the basis of the Future allomorph used, -wu or -ḡu. 6A consists solely of stems ending in a, while 6B is divided between stems ending in a and stems ending in u. The paradigm of 6A is exemplified here by *!akaṛa-* *to tell*:

Present	<i>!akaṛa-ma</i>
Past	<i>!akaṛa-wala~!akaṛa-ḡa</i>
Future	<i>!akaṛa-wu</i>
Past Potential	<i>!akaṛa-w-a /!akaṛa-wu-a/</i>
Infinitive	<i>!akaṛa-ḡa-ṛawu</i>
Refl-Recip	<i>!akaṛa-ḡa-mi-</i>
Causative	(see below)
Nominalisation	<i>!akaṛa-ḡa-</i>

The following is the paradigm of *gunga-* *to protect, to defend*, a class 6B stem:

Present	<i>gunga-ma</i>
Past	<i>gunga-wala~gunga-ḡa</i>
Future	<i>gungu-ḡu /gunga-ḡu/</i>
Past Potential	<i>gunga-w-a /gunga-wu-a/</i>
Infinitive	<i>gunga-ḡa-ṛawu</i>
Refl-Recip	<i>gunga-ḡa-mi-</i>
Causative	(see below)
Nominalisation	<i>gunga-ḡa-</i>

Note that /gunga-/ becomes gungu- by vocalic assimilation in the Future form with -ŋu. This assimilation does not take place with the monosyllabic stems ɲa:- *to see* and ga:- *to carry* (Future ɲa:-ŋu, ga:-ŋu). For 6B stems ending in u there is, of course, no change in the stem-final vowel, hence Present barpu-ma, Past barpu-wala or barpu-ŋa, Future barpu-ŋu, and so forth from barpu- *to pound*.

The Future in -ŋu is what distinguishes 6B stems from 6A stems. However, the Past Potential of both subclasses is in -w-a from /-wu-a/. Thus class 6B is an exception to the general rule that the Past Potential is formed by adding /-a/ to the Future.

Leaving aside monosyllables, it is possible to predict whether a class 6 stem will belong to 6A or 6B. Class 6 stems ending in u, ka, or ga are in 6B, while those ending in Ca with C not k or g are in 6A.

It is possible that some or all of the nonmonosyllabic stems ending in ka or ga are historically compounds containing ga:- *to carry*, which would automatically shorten its vowel in noninitial position (2.3). A more or less complete list of these stems is gunga- *to protect*, *to defend*, ŋulka- *to fetch*, guruka- *to carry on one's shoulder*, and ŋurka- *to throw*. The notion of carrying or transporting is found in all of these except perhaps the first. If this conjecture is correct, we conclude that the only class 6 stems ending in a which belong to subclass 6B are ga:- *to carry* and its derivatives, and ɲa:- *to see*. I suspect that the historical reason why ɲa:- has joined 6B is to avoid ambiguity. If it were affiliated with 6A, as is the synchronically irregular but historically regular stem ɲa:- *to hear* (7.17), the Future form would be \*ɲa:-ku, with hardening of /g/ to k following a CV:- stem (cf. commentary to P-5 in 2.3). This would be homophonous with the common interrogative ɲa:-ku *what for?*.

The paradigm of subclass 6B is identical to that of the common irregular verb bu- *to hit*, *to kill* except in the Past form (bu- forms Past bu-maɾa). Indeed, a number of stems ending in pu or bu fluctuate between the regular 6B Past forms and a Past in -maɾa. Many of these are probably etymologically compounds including bu-. An example is maypu- *to hit (someone or something already injured or sick)*, which has 6B past forms maypu-wala and maypu-ŋa alternating with maypu-maɾa.

As suggested in 2.4 (end), Future -wu and -ŋu are etymologically identical to Dative -gu~-wu, which takes the allomorph -ŋu with many pronominal stems. It is possible but uncertain that Past -wala is related in some way to either Directional -bala~-wala or to Locative Increment -gala~-wala-. The form of Past -wala seems to have been reshaped in Ritharngu, cf. -ŋaɪ in other nearby Yuulngu languages in the Past of this verb class.

The Causative form of class 6 stems, not shown in the paradigm above, is quite unusual. Most often, Causative -maṛa- (followed by its own inflectional suffixes) is added to an already fully inflected class 6 verb, with an augment -ʔ-. Thus wakala- (6A) *to crawl*, forms Present wakala-ma, and the Present tense of the corresponding Causative is wakala-ma-ʔ-maṛa-ma (*crawl*-Pres-Aug-Caus-Pres). Similarly, the Future of the Causative is wakala-wu-ʔ-maṛa-wu, the Past of the Causative is wakala-wala-ʔ-maṛa-wala, and so forth. However, sometimes the first tense suffix is omitted, so that we can get wakala-ʔ-maṛa- as a Causative stem in any tense.

#### 7.13. ḡu:- *to chop*

This stem has a defective paradigm, as follows:

Present	ḡu:-n
Past	ḡu:-na
Infinitive	ḡu:-n-ṛawu

The inflections are identical to those of class 5, as far as the paradigm goes.

Ngandi ḡo- *to chop* and Nunggubuyu ḡa- *to chop* suggest a prototype \*ḡo- for their common ancestor. Ritharngu ḡu:- may well be a borrowing from Ngandi or its ancestor.

#### 7.14. ḡurka- *to chop*

The paradigm of this stem is as follows:

Present	ḡurka-ma
Past	ḡurka-wala~ḡurka-ṇa
Future	ḡurk-u /ḡurka-u/
Past Potential	ḡurka-w-a /ḡurka-wu-a/
Infinitive	ḡurka-ṇa-ṛawu
Nominalisation	ḡurka-ṇa-

The inflections are those of class 6, except that Future /-u/ is found neither in subclass 6A nor in 6B. Historically, ḡurk-u is probably a contraction of \*ḡurka-wu, showing the regular 6A Future ending.

7.15. *la-* to spear

This verb is especially irregular in that it adds an augment *-na-* or *-n-* in combinations where no other verbs have it, and even shows a double augment *-na-n-* in the Refl-Recip form. The paradigm is this:

Present	<i>la-na-n</i>
Past	<i>la-na</i>
Future	<i>la-n-qu</i>
Past Potential	<i>la-n-qu-wa /la-n-qu-a/</i>
Infinitive	<i>la-n-rawu</i>
Refl-Recip	<i>la-na-n-mi-</i>
Nominalisation	<i>la-na-</i>

This is the only verb in the language where */-a/* is added to *-qu-* in the Past Potential. Other verbs, such as those in class 6B, which take the allomorph *-qu* in the Future replace this by */-wu-/* before */-a/*. It is likely that this special characteristic of *la-* has something to do with the fact that it is the only verb where *-qu* follows a consonant; in 6B and with *bu-* to hit, to kill (7.18) the suffix *-qu* follows a vowel.

7.16. *ma:ra-* to get, to grab

The paradigm of this verb is as follows:

Present	<i>ma:ra-ma</i>
Past	<i>ma:ra-wala~ma:ra-na~ma:-na</i>
Future	<i>ma:ra-wu</i>
Past Potential	<i>ma:ra-w-a /ma:ra-wu-a/</i>
Infinitive	<i>ma:ra-na-rawu</i>
Nominalisation	<i>ma:ra-na-</i>

The inflections are those of class 6A, except. that there is a third Past form, *ma:-na*, showing loss of the stem-final segment *ra*. The form *ma:-na* is more common than the regular variants *ma:ra-wala* and *ma:ra-na*.

7.17. *na:-* to hear

The paradigm is this:



Present	ŋa:-ma
Past	ŋa:-wala~ŋa:-ŋa
Future	ŋa:-ku
Past Potential	ŋa:-w-a /ŋa:-wu-a/
Infinitive	ŋa:-ŋa-ɾawu
Refl-Recip	ŋa:-ŋa-mi-
Nominalisation	ŋa:-ŋa-

This is essentially a class 6A stem, except that we get Future -ku instead of -wu. Historically, even this form is regular, since -wu in other 6A stems reflects lenition of \*-gu, and since -ku is a hardened form of this same \*-gu. As suggested in 2.4 (end), hardening of suffix-initial lenis stops to fortis stops may once have been regular following \*CV:- stems, though the conditioning environment of the process has since become obscured by various analogical developments, so that now it is an unproductive morphophonemic process. No other stem in class 6A has the CV:- shape, since all others contain at least two syllables.

#### 7.18. bu- to hit, to kill

The paradigm of this irregular stem is as follows:

Present	bu-ma
Past	bu-maɾa~bu-ŋa
Future	bu-ŋu
Past Potential	bu-w-a /bu-wu-a/
Infinitive	bu-ŋa-ɾawu
Refl-Recip	bu-ŋa-mi-
Nominalisation	bu-ŋa-

This is a class 6B paradigm except for the Past ending -maɾa vs. 6B Past -wala. In -maɾa we can detect the presence of the augment \*-ma- which is widespread in Australian languages after this stem, cf. Nunggubuyu Present tense -(w)u-ma-na, etc. This analysis leaves -ɾa as the basic Past tense ending, matching Past allomorph -ɾa in class 4.

7.19. *galki-* to fall

The paradigm is this:

Present	<i>galki-ri</i>
Past	<i>galki-na~galki-ri-ña</i>
Future	<i>galki-ri</i>
Past Potential	<i>galki-ri-ya /galki-ri-a/</i>
Infinitive	<i>galki-ri-ña-rawu</i>
Causative	<i>galki-ri-?-maɾa-</i>
Nominalisation	<i>galki-na--galki-ri-ña-</i>

There are similarities with the paradigms of Inchoative *-ɬi-* and Refl-Recip *-mi-* (7.20, 7.23), especially in the use of *-ri* in the Present. This stem patterns with *-mi-* rather than *-ɬi-* in also using *-ri* as the Future suffix, and consequently in forming a Past Potential in *-ri-ya*.

Like *-mi-* and *-ɬi-* (as well as class 1 stems), the suffix *-Na-* in its various functions shows two allomorphs, *-na-* and *-ña-*. Also like *-mi-* and *-ɬi-*, the allomorph *-ña-* has generalised in the Infinitive. However, a peculiarity of *galki-* is that *-ri-* is used as an augment before the allomorph *-ña-*, whereas with *-mi-* and *-ɬi-* both allomorphs *-na-* and *-ña-* are added directly, without augments. The augment *-ri-* is also found in Causative *galki-ri-?-maɾa-*; for *-?* cf. Causatives of classes 2 and 6.

7.20. The Paradigm of Inchoative *-ɬi-*

The inflectional paradigm of derivatives ending in Inchoative *-ɬi-* can be exemplified here by *guñja?-ɬi-* to become frightened:

Present	<i>guñja?-ɬi-ri</i>
Past	<i>guñja?-ɬi-na~guñja?-ɬi-ña</i>
Future	<i>guñja?-ɬ-i /guñja?-ɬi-i/</i>
Past Potential	<i>guñja?-ɬ-i-ya /guñja?-ɬi-i-a/</i>
Infinitive	<i>guñja?-ɬi-ña-rawu</i>
Nominalisation	<i>guñja?-ɬi-na--guñja?-ɬi-ña-</i>

The paradigm is similar to those of *galki-* to fall (7.19) and of Refl-Recip *-mi-* (7.23), as well as of class 1 stems (7.7). It shares with class 1 the Future in */-i-/* and consequently the Past Potential in */-i-a/*.

There are a few other stems ending in *i* which appear to be contractions involving *\*-ṭi-*. For example, corresponding to *miḍiku?-ṇu* *bad* we find *miḍiki- to be bad* (presumably *\*miḍiku-ṭi- → \*miḍiku-ḍi- → \*miḍiku-yi- → miḍiki-*), though it is attested only in the compound *ṇuy-miḍiki- to be sad* (*ṇu:y heart*). Another similar example is *maṛaṇi- to be full* (no nominal form attested).

#### 7.21. The Paradigm of Factitive *-ṭa-*

This suffix replaces *-ṭi-*, creating a derived transitive verb. An example is *guñja?-ḍa- to frighten*, whose paradigm follows:

Present	<i>guñja?-ḍa-maṇ</i>
Past	<i>guñja?-ḍa-wala</i>
Future	<i>guñja?-ḍa-ṇu</i>
Past Potential	<i>guñja?-ḍa-w-a /guñja?-ṭa-wu-a/</i>
Infinitive	<i>guñja?-ḍa-ṇa-ṛawu</i>
Refl-Recip	<i>guñja?-ḍa-ṇa-mi-</i>
Nominalisation	<i>guñja?-ḍa-ṇa-</i>

The Past tense in *-wala* is suggestive of affinities with class 6. Future *-ṇu* specifically associates *-ṭa-* with subclass 6B, but note that there is no vocalic assimilation to *\*guñja?-ḍu-ṇu* as one finds in other nonmonosyllabic 6B stems before *-ṇu*. Another feature distinguishing *-ṭa-* from class 6 is the absence of an alternative Past form *\*guñja?-ḍa-ṇa*.

The ending *-maṇ* in the Present is unexpected, in view of the fact that class 6 stems take Present *-ma*. It may be that *-ṭa-* originally had such an ending, but that it has been reshaped under the influence of the Present form of the Causative, *-ma-ṇ* (where *-ma-* is a contraction of the Causative suffix *-maṛa-*).

#### 7.22. The Paradigm of Causative *-maṛa-*

The paradigm of this suffix is exemplified by *bar?-yu-n-maṛa- to split (trans.)*:

Present	bar?-yu-n-ma-ŋ~bar?-yu-n-maṣa-ma
Past	bar?-yu-n-maṣa-wala~bar?-yu-n-maṣa-ŋa
Future	bar?-yu-n-maṣa-wu
Past Potential	bar?-yu-n-maṣa-w-a /bar?-yu-n-maṣa-wu-a/
Infinitive	bar?-yu-n-maṣa-ŋa-ṛawu
Refl-Recip	bar?-yu-n-maṣa-ŋa-mi-
Nominalisation	bar?-yu-n-maṣa-ŋa-

The Past ending -maṣa-wala usually contracts to -ma-la in normal speech, though the full form can occur in careful speech.

The paradigm is essentially like that of class 6A, except for the Present form in -ma-ŋ (which is more common than the regular form in -maṣa-ma). A Present suffix -ŋ is also found with class 4 verbs.

#### 7.23. The Paradigm of Reflexive-Reciprocal -mi-

Taking bu-ŋa-mi- *to fight* from bu- *to hit*, *to kill* as our example, we have the following paradigm:

Present	bu-ŋa-mi-ri
Past	bu-ŋa-mi-na~bu-ŋa-mi-ña
Future	bu-ŋa-mi-ri
Past Potential	bu-ŋa-mi-ri-ya /bu-ŋa-mi-ri-a/
Infinitive	bu-ŋa-mi-ña-ṛawu
Nominalisation	bu-ŋa-mi-na~bu-ŋa-mi-ña-

The paradigm is similar to that of Inchoative -ṭi- (7.20), but differs in the Future and therefore also in the Past Potential.

#### 7.24. Root Forms

An uninflected verb root, called 'root form' in this grammar, is produced by dropping Thematising Increment -Cu- and all inflectional (and derivational) suffixes from a class 5 verb form. Thus *baṅgu!?*-yu- *to return* can occur in the root form as *baṅgu!?*. Note that derivational suffixes such as Causative -maṣa- are among the suffixes omitted, so that the root form *ḍum?* can correspond either to simple *ḍum?-bu-* *to have a hole or opening* or to Causative *ḍum?-bu-n-maṣa-* (contracted form *ḍum?-maṣa-*).

Apparently some combinations ending in Inchoative verbaliser -ṭi- can also produce a root form by dropping the -ṭi- and following inflectional

suffixes. Thus *guñja?-di-* *to become frightened* has a root form *guñja?*. However, since most stems which occur with *-xi-* are also used independently as noun stems, it is often difficult to distinguish such root forms from ordinary, unverballed noun stems. In the case of *guñja?* we know we have a root form since this stem does not occur independently as a noun (for example, we cannot form Plural *\*guñja?-wač* or add case suffixes to *guñja?*).

Verbs other than class 5 stems and derivatives with *-xi-* generally cannot occur in root forms. The only exception to this is that a handful of high-frequency verb stems are closely associated with particles which tend to function as suppletive root forms for them. Thus *ni:na-* (class 2) *to sit* is related to suppletive root form *ɖut*, *la-* *to spear* (irregular) is associated with *giɖ*, and *ma:ra-* *to get, to grab* is related to *baɖ*. Note that these three root forms are all of the shape CVC, which is the characteristic canonical shape of class 5 roots, so one might regard the three as defective class 5 roots which occur only in root forms. For the uses of root forms cf. 7.25 and 7.26.

#### 7.25. Semantics of the Inflectional Categories

The basic tense categories - Present, Past, and Future - are semantically straightforward. The use of the Future in Imperative constructions is discussed in the next section, 7.26. See also 9.17 for its use in complement clauses.

The Past Potential can usually be translated *should have done* or *would have done*. Thus *ɭuk-i-ya + ni:* can mean *You should have eaten it* in a reprimanding sense. In a conditional context it can be translated *You would have eaten it, if...* (cf. 9.21). Or it can mean *You were just about to eat it*; in this usage the speaker does not specify whether the eating did or did not actually take place later on.

Root forms are essentially abbreviations of verb forms, and sometimes of entire clauses. Consider this example:

*wa:ni-na + ɳay ɖut*  
*go-Past      3Sg sit*  
*He went and sat down (i.e. stopped).*

Here the speaker has, in effect, squeezed two clauses into one, since *ɖut* here has replaced the clause *ni:na-na + ɳay he sat* (recall from 7.24 that *ɖut* is the suppletive root form of *ni:na-*). Thus not only has *ɖut* replaced the inflected verb, it has also allowed the deletion of the normally obligatory enclitic pronoun marking the subject.

Often, however, the function of root forms is merely to add stylistic 'spice' to an utterance. Root forms are usually pronounced as interjections, something like English 'Pow!', 'Thud!', or 'Crack!'. Note, however, that Ritharngu root forms do not normally have the onomatopoeic overtones of these English interjections, since they clearly refer to verbal activities. In their 'spicy' uses, root forms often accompany rather than replace the verbs related to them, especially in the case of suppletive root forms:

baʔ + ña + ɲay ma:ra-ɲa  
*grab*      3SgAcc 3Sg *grab*-Past  
*He grabbed him.*

(Or, perhaps, *Oof! He grabbed him.*)

Here both *baʔ* and *ma:ra-* refer to the action of grabbing, but *baʔ* is clearly more charged stylistically.

Although devoid of verbal inflectional suffixation, root forms can take subject (and object) enclitic pronouns as though they were ordinary inflected verbs. Thus the above example could be shortened by dropping off the final verb *ma:ra-na*, leaving only *baʔ + ña + ɲay*.

The uses of root forms as Imperatives are mentioned in 7.26.

In paradigms where two or more Past forms are shown there may be semantic distinctions in at least some cases. In class 1, the type *wa:ni-na* is usual for *went*, but *wa:ni-ña* can be used to indicate habitual or substantially prolonged activity, especially in the distant past. This is probably also the case with *-na* vs. *-ña* in other paradigms like that of *galki-* *to fall* (7.19) and Inchoative *-ɰi-* (7.20). In class 6, the type *lakaɾa-wala* is the usual form and *lakaɾa-ɲa* seems to be the distant habitual. I should add that these semantic distinctions (which of course are not possible with other verb classes and are thus restricted to a minority of stems in the language) are not rigorous and not all textual examples fit with my remarks above.

For those class 2 verbs (*ɲu:ra-* *to sleep* and *ɖa:ra-* *to stand*) which take special Past forms in *-ɲana* (*ɲu:r-ɲana*, *ɖa:r-ɲana*) in addition to the regular ones in *-ɲa* (*ɲu:ra-ɲa*, *ɖa:ra-ɲa*), the forms in *-ɲana* appear to be aspectually punctual (indicating changes in state) while those in *-ɲa* are basically durative (indicating states themselves), though again it is difficult to account for all textual examples by this generalisation.

The similarity between *-ña* (after *i*) and *-ɲa* (after other vowels), both nonpunctual (durative or habitual) suggests that they are basically the same morpheme (*-Na* with laminal nasal), contrasting in some cases with apical *-na*.

## 7.26. The Imperative

The ordinary positive imperative is indistinguishable from a Future sentence with second person subject:

!uk-i + ŋi:  
eat-Fut 2Sg  
*Eat it!; you will eat it.*

Root forms of verbs can sometimes be used as a curt, rather rude imperative, so that *baŋgu!*? (from class 5 *baŋgu!*?-yu- *to return*) can mean *Come back!* (or *Go back!*). This might be used by an adult addressing a child who has strayed too far from the camp.

Negative Imperatives (prohibitives) are distinct from Negative forms of ordinary Future verbs. Whereas the regular Negative suffix *-?may?* is added to the latter (*baŋgu!*?-yu-ru-*?may?* *will not return*), prohibitives use an independent particle *yaka* at the beginning of the clause and a simple Future verb:

yaka + ŋi: *baŋgu!*?-yu-ru  
Neg 2Sg *return-Them-Fut*  
*Don't come (go) back!*

There is also a Negative equivalent of root-form imperatives. This is formed by adding Privative *-miŋiw* *without* to the Nominalisation in *-Na-*:

!uka-ŋa-miŋiw  
eat-Nom-Priv  
*Don't eat!*

This tends to be ruder than the type with *yaka*, and in some ways is reminiscent of the English type 'No Smoking'.

In this type it is possible, but not obligatory, to add a second person subject-marking pronoun, so that it is possible to say *!uka-ŋa-miŋiw + ŋi: Don't eat!* with 2Sg *ŋi:*, and so forth.

## 7.27. Uses of the Infinitive

The Infinitive is formed by adding *-rawu* to a stem extended by the augment *-Na-* or *-n-*, whose form depends on the verb. If we take this augment as historically identical to the Nominaliser *-Na-* (7.28), then *-Na-rawu* can be interpreted as a specialised Dative form of the nominalisation. The etymologically valid segmentation would be *-Na-ŋa-wu*, where *-Na-* is the Nominaliser, *-ŋa-* an unusual augment, and *-wu* (from *\*-gu*) is the Dative ending. The semantics of the Infinitive



are entirely compatible with such an analysis. Synchronically, however, I will segment the combination as -Na-rawu (or -n-rawu).

The Infinitive is common as a purpose clause (*in order that...*). It can also be used as a complement clause subordinated to verbs like ja:l-ti- *to want* or adjectives like marŋgi *to know (how)*. Most of these verbs and adjectives can also take nominal complements in Dative case. Further details and examples of the Infinitive are given in 9.18.

#### 7.28. Uses of the Nominalisation in -Na-

The Nominalisation in -Na- (-ŋa-, -na-, or -ña-, depending on the verb) is used only in a very restricted type of adverbial clause. It must be followed by Associative -puy, Locative -ŋara, Ablative -ŋuru? or Allative -li?. No other case forms, including the Nominative, are possible. An Ablative example:

baɾpu-ŋa-ŋuru? + ŋay wa:ni-na  
pound-Nom-Abl 3Sg go-Past  
*He went from the pounding.*

A more colloquial translation might be something like *He went away from where they were pounding*. However, in this translation English speakers are forced to specify the subject of the *pounding*, namely *they* in this example. In the Ritharngu example there need be, and generally is, no such specification.

An example with Allative -li?:

baɾč-u-na-li? + ɟali wa:n-i  
spear-Them-Nom-All 3Pl go-Fut  
*They will go to the spearing.*

This nominalisation is not attested with intracause adjuncts such as NP's; one cannot expand this example as *They will go to our spearing the kangaroos*, for example.

For the special sense *as soon as* with Allative -li? see Text 7 (ŋa:m?-bu-na-li?).

In many paradigms the Nominalisation in -Na- is homophonous with the Past tense in -Na, so it might be thought that the Nominalisation is really the Past tense form. This is especially so in examples like baɾpu-ŋa-ŋuru? + ŋay wa:ni-na, above, where the relevant activity actually did occur in the past. However, the example baɾč-u-na-li? + ɟali wa:n-i has future reference, so -na- here cannot be taken as a Past suffix. Furthermore, in some verb classes (e.g. 4) the Past is

distinct from the Nominaliser -Na-, and only the latter can occur in constructions with following -ḡaḡa, -ḡuḡu?, and -li?.

However, Associative -puy can occur both with the Nominalisation in -Na- and with regular inflected verb forms, including Past, Present, and Future. Thus class 4 ḡaḡa- *to hold* forms ḡaḡa-na-puy with the Nominaliser, and ḡaḡa-ḡa-puy (Past), ḡaḡa-ḡ-buy (Present), and ḡaḡu-lu-puy (Future) with various tense suffixes. Examples and discussion of these combinations with -puy are given in 9.22.

In addition to combinations with the case suffixes mentioned above (-ḡaḡa, -ḡuḡu?, -li?, -puy), the Nominaliser -Na- occurs in compounds with following Proprietary -miri and Privative -miḡiw. The use of -Na-miḡiw in a type of Imperative has been mentioned in 7.26. For more examples cf. 8.2. and 8.4.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### COMPOUNDING

#### 8.1. General

In this chapter we will deal with a variety of derivational processes in addition to 'true' compounds. In 8.2 through 8.4 we deal with a set of suffixes (or compounding finals) which create nominal derivatives of the 'having X' type. In 8.5 and 8.6 are mentioned three other minor nominal derivational constructions, while in 8.7 we deal with the 'X times' adverbial construction. Three derivational prefixes used chiefly with verbs, some with important grammatical functions, are treated in 8.8 through 8.10. 'True' compounds, mostly with noun stems used as compounding initials, are discussed in 8.11 through 8.13. Finally, a type of 'auxiliary' verbal construction is described in 8.14.

#### 8.2. Proprietative -miri

The Proprietative suffix -miri which can often be translated as 'having X' or 'characterised by X' is etymologically related to the Reflexive-Reciprocal suffix -mi- (7.6), but is quite distinct from it synchronically. It is added to nouns (including nominalised verbs with suffix -Na-), creating derived nouns, many of which correspond semantically to English adjectives.

For example, there is a common combination wa:ŋa-miri *married man*, from wa:ŋa *camp*. (A man normally moved into his own camp upon acquiring a wife in traditional Aboriginal society.) A near-synonym is giŋ?-miri *having a woman*.

An example with a nominalised verb is wa:ni-na-miri *capable of walking, not crippled* from wa:ni- *to go* and Nominaliser -na-. As noted in 7.5, this particular form is homophonous with the Reflexive-Reciprocal of the verb wa:ni- in the Present tense (wa:ni-na-mi-ri

with augment *-na-*), but the two constructions are quite distinct semantically, syntactically, and morphologically (one type is formally verbal and takes varying tense suffixes, the other is formally nominal).

A number of place names contain *-miri*, e.g. *mačakutu?-miri*, literally *having crayfish*.

Although combinations ending in Proprietative *-miri* are formally nouns, and can take case and/or number suffixes, they can also be used in a sort of adverbial function. An example:

motorcar-miri + *ɲay wa:ni-na*  
                   -Prop   3Sg go-Past  
*He went by motorcar.*

Literally, this is *Having a motorcar, he went*. In this construction when the subject is plural (e.g. 3Pl pronoun *ɟali* in place of 3Sg *ɲay*) the form in *-miri* normally does not agree with it in number, so we get *motorcar-miri + ɟali wa:ni-na* *They went by motorcar*, not \**motorcar-miri-wač + ɟali wa:ni-na* with Pl *-wač* added to *-miri*. This is a further indication that in such constructions *-miri* tends to behave as an adverb rather than an ordinary noun.

### 8.3. *-bulal*, *-baɽu*

When the noun to which *-miri* is added is a countable noun (not a mass noun like *sand*), then the number of the countable entity must either be *one* or else an indefinite number. It is possible to form parallel constructions where the number is specifically *two* or *many* by replacing *-miri* by *-bulal* *having two* or by *-baɽu* *having many*. The first of these is related to the stem *bulal-* in the numeral *bulal-mañji?* *two*, containing the regular Du suffix *-mañji?*. The second is related to the adjective *baɽu?-ɲu* *many*.

Examples: *wa:ɲa-bulal* *having two wives* (literally, *having two camps*); *wa:ɲa-baɽu* *having many wives*.

### 8.4. Privative *-miɽiw*

The opposite of constructions with *-miri* is created by replacing it with Privative *-miɽiw* *without*. This suffix has a variant *-muɽu* in rapid speech. Examples are *wa:ɲa-miɽiw* *wifeless*, *ba:pa-miɽiw* *fatherless*.

With nominalised verbs we get constructions like *wa:ni-na-miɽiw* *unable to walk, crippled*, which are the opposite of constructions like

wa:ni-na-miri (8.2). The type wa:ni-na-miriw can also be used as a blunt prohibitive clause (*Don't go!*), as exemplified in 7.26.

#### 8.5. -giniŋ, biyaŋ-

A special type of nominal derivative meaning *obsessed with X* or *greedy for X* can be constructed by adding either the suffix -giniŋ (variant -ŋiniŋ) or the prefix biyaŋ- to a noun stem (X). This noun is usually a word referring to some kind of food, game animal, or other desirable commodity. Examples: ɲaʔa-giniŋ *obsessed with/greedy for vegetable food*, gami-giniŋ *obsessed with spears*, wurpaŋ-giniŋ or wurpaŋ-ŋiniŋ *greedy for emu (meat)*, biyaŋ-wurpaŋ (same gloss), etc.

#### 8.6. Diminutive -gañāŋ?~-ñañāŋ?

Diminutive -gañāŋ?~-ñañāŋ? can be added to noun stems, as in ɠarpa-gañāŋ?~ɠarpa-ñañāŋ? *little tree; little stick*. It is, however, not very common except with stems inherently signifying smallness, e.g. yu:ʔu- *small; child*, which often turns up in the form yu:ʔu-gañāŋ?~yu:ʔu-ñañāŋ?.

Although we do not find \*gañāŋ? or \*ñañāŋ? as independent nouns (cf. yu:ʔu *small*), there is a reduplicated form ɲañā?-ñañā, which curiously means *big ones*.

Ngandi Diminutive -gañā? and Warndarang -gañā are related to the Ritharngu Diminutive suffix. It is not entirely clear whether Nunggubuyu wiñig *small*, sometimes used in Diminutive compounds, is also related.

#### 8.7. malk- times; bala- side

Adverbials of the 'X times' type, where X is a quantifier, are created by prefixing malk- and suffixing Proprietative -miri to a quantifier, as in malk-waŋgiñ?-miri *once* and malk-bulal-miri *twice*. Occasionally the Proprietative suffix is omitted, as in malk-waŋgiñ? *once*.

Examples of adverbs with bala- *side* are bala-ɠunupa (*on the*) *right-hand side* from ɠunupa *straight*; bala-wiɾipu (*on the*) *other side* from wiɾipu *other*.

Both malk- and bala- also occur in Ngandi; Nunggubuyu has a cognate of malk- but none of bala-.

## 8.8. mala-

The noun *mala group; subclan* occurs as a compounding initial with certain nouns, mostly creating subclan names like *mala-barčaray* (the name of the Ritharngu-speaking subclan of the Maɖarpa maɖa). It is more common with verb stems, where it is translatable *together, as a group*. Example: *mala-buɖ-ɖu-* *to fly away together (as a flock)* from class 5 *buɖ-ɖu-* *to fly away*.

## 8.9. Comitative baɖa-

The prefix (or compounding initial) *baɖa-* is moderately common with intransitive verbs of motion or stance, creating derived verbs which involve a comitative object. An example:

baɖa-wani-na + ɳay ɖaramu gaɖayka?  
Com-go-Past     he   man   harpoon  
*The man went with a harpoon.*

The derivative is still formally intransitive, as is shown by the case-marking of *ɖaramu* (Nominative, not Ergative). If the comitative NP is overtly indicated, it is put likewise into the Nominative, there being no Comitative case form.

An example with a stance verb is *baɖa-ɳina-* *to sit with*.

From a noun X we can get a derivative *X-baɖa-ɳu* (*rightful*) *owner of X*. Thus *ɖiɳɳ-baɖa-ɳu* with *ɖiɳɳ* *woman* means *rightful husband* (in contrast to a wife-stealer, for example). Similarly, *ɖawal-baɖa-ɳu* means (*rightful*) *owner of the country*. A somewhat specialised combination is *yu:l-baɖa-ɳu* *relative (of someone)* from *yu:l(-ɳu)* *man, person*.

The ending *-ɳu* here is related to adjectival *-ɳu* (3.1), which can perhaps also be identified in *-ʔmiriɳu* (3.2), cf. Proprietative *-miri* (8.2).

## 8.10. ɖay-~yay-

This is a derivational prefix added to intransitive verbs of motion, creating derived transitives of transportation. Thus from *banggu!ʔ-yu-* *to return* we get *ɖay-banggu!ʔ-yu-~yay-banggu!ʔ-yu-* *to take back, to return with*. NP's denoting the thing transported are inflected as direct objects. Examples:

ɖay-banggu!ʔ-yu-na + ɳa + ra ɖaramu-ɳa  
-return-Them-Past     him   I   man-Acc  
*I returned with the man; I brought the man back.*

Here we have the (normally) intransitive verb stem *baŋu|ʔ-yu-* *to return, to go/come back* in a transitive derivative with *ɾay-*.

### 8.11. Body Part Terms as Compounding Initials

There are quite a number of compounds where a noun denoting a body part is added as a compounding initial to a verb stem. The verb remains the nucleus semantically, morphologically, and syntactically, while the compounding initial merely modifies its sense. Generally the body part referred to is part of the entity functioning as grammatical subject in intransitives, as direct object in transitives.

Among the more common body part terms in such combinations are *ɖa:* *mouth*, *mi:l* *eye* (sometimes shortened to *mi-* in compounds), and *ŋu:y* *heart*. Examples: *ɖa:-maybu-* *to have a tired mouth, to be tired of speaking* (-*maybu-* unattested except in this combination); *mi:l-gurupa-* *to show* from *gurupa-* *to give*; *ŋu:y-miɖiku?-ŋu* *sad, unhappy* from *miɖiku?-ŋu* *bad*. Other examples are *mayan-garpi-* *to tie or wrap around the neck of* from *mayan* *neck* and *garpi-* *to wrap around*; *liya-ɖal-ŋu* *stubborn, greedy* from *liya* *head* and *ɖa:l-ŋu* *strong*; *lami-wakin* *awkward* from *lami* *hips* and *wakin* *bad*.

It is perhaps possible to detect \**ɖa:* *mouth* in certain noun stems, e.g. *ɖakal* *jaw*, *ɖamun* *chin*, and *ɖawarak* *beard, whiskers*. However, these stems are quite frozen synchronically even if possibly complex historically, and there is no point in segmenting them as *ɖa-kal*, etc. In true synchronic compounds *ɖa:* does not shorten its vowel.

In some cases there is only a tendency to join two stems into a compound, mainly because it is formally difficult to distinguish compounding from mere juxtaposition. Consider this example (from Text 33.1):

*gu|un-buɳiɕ-u-n* + *nu* + *ña* + *ɳay*  
*belly-rub sweat on-Them-Pr now him she*  
*She applies sweat onto him (in bestowal ritual).*

Here my reason for taking *gu|un* as a compounding initial is that the enclitics, especially *ña* and *ɳay*, normally follow the first constituent in the clause, so taking *gu|un-buɳiɕ-u-n* as a unit gives us the correct results. However, the immediately preceding sentence in that text was this:

*gu|un* + *ña* + *ɳay buɳiɕ-u-ru*  
*belly him she rub sweat on-Them-Fut*  
*She will apply sweat onto him.*



There are quite a few examples in the texts of such fluctuation; and the enclitic test (only applicable in clause-initial position) is normally the only one applicable. This situation contrasts significantly with that in the prefixing languages to the south, where the relative position of the noun stem and the pronominal prefix (Noun Prefix-Verb vs. Prefix-Noun-Verb) is a reliable test for compounding vs. mere juxtaposition.

In theory, in a case like *liya-ɖal-ŋu stubborn* from *ɖa:l-ŋu strong* the shortening of the noninitial long vowel (2.3) should be a phonological indication of compounding. However, difficulty in hearing vowel-length oppositions consistently makes this test unreliable.

#### 8.12. Other Noun Stems as Compounding Initials

Body part terms are not the only noun stems which can be used in compounds as initial modifying elements. The noun *ɖiku raw, uncooked* is common in such compounds, either with its usual sense or with the special sense *fallen, unconscious, dead*. An example of the latter sense is *ɖiku-galki- to faint* with *galki- to fall*. A similar range of senses is found with Ngandi *ɖiku-* and Nunggubuyu *ɾigu-*, so this is another areal phenomenon.

A few high-frequency nouns like *ɖuɖu? hole; burrow* and *gapu water* are common in compounds: *ɖuɖu?-buɕa- to make a hole or burrow*, with *bu:ɕa- to make*; *gapu-guyupa- to be thirsty*, with *guyupa- to die*. Other examples which might be mentioned are *gunal-ŋupa- to imitate the speech of* from *gunal speech* and *ŋupa- to chase*; *maɾi-mam?-bu- to be angry* from *maɾi-* (*maɾi-ŋu angry, violent*, cf. class 5 verb *maɾi?-yu- to be angry*) and *ma:m?-bu- to appear*; *waɭir-biɾ-yu- to be daybreak* from *waɭir sun* and *biɾ-yu- to be daybreak*.

A few morphemes are used as noun-like compounding initials but do not appear to occur as independent nouns, notably *mañ- taste* in *mañ-guyak salty, bitter-tasting* from *guyak* (same gloss) and *mañ-miɾiw tasteless* (with Privative *-miɾiw*). The stem *miyak-* can also be used to mean *taste* in such compounds, e.g. *miyak-miɖiku?-ŋu bad-tasting* with *miɖiku?-ŋu bad*. A stem *mar-* occurs only as initial element in compounds referring to emotional states: *mar-guyupa- to be anxious or worried* from *guyupa- to die*; *mar-ŋama-ɕi- to be happy* from *ŋama-ɕi- to be good*. The stem *burk appearance* can be elicited as an independent stem, but most often occurs in compounds like *burk-miɖiku?-ŋu odd-looking, badly shaped* with *miɖiku?-ŋu bad*.

### 8.13. Nucleus-Modifier Compounds

The types described in 8.11 and 8.14 might be called 'modifier-nucleus' compounds, since the second constituent (often a verb, sometimes a semantically adjectival noun) is nuclear and the initial constituent modifies it. However, there is also a reverse type, consisting of an initial nuclear noun and a following adjectival noun as modifier. For example, with *gapu water* we get *gapu-barapa fresh water*, *gapu-ṇamakuli good water*, and *gapu-ḍumuru deep (big) water*.

This type is not productive, and in any event is difficult to distinguish from ordinary juxtaposition of independent adjectival modifiers to nouns. It is only when non-zero case suffixes are added, as in *gapu-barapa-li?* *to the fresh water* that we can clearly determine that a compound is at hand; if the two stems were merely juxtaposed we would have gotten *\*gapu-li? barapa-li?*.

Other examples are *ḍuri-yuḡu little guts (i.e. intestines)* and *ḍuri-yindi big guts (i.e. gullet)*, with *ḍuri guts* and adjectival nouns meaning *little* and *big*. Note that the Diminutive type described in 8.6 is formally similar to these examples. The Diminutive formation, in fact, could be with a specialised compound final which does not occur normally as an independent noun.

### 8.14. Auxiliary Compounds with -bu-, -mara-, Stance Verbs

A number of verb stems can be analysed as containing a root followed by -bu- *to hit, to kill*, -mara- (from *ma:ra-*) *to get, to grab*, or a stance verb -ḡara- (from *ḡa:ra-*) *to stand* or -ṇura- (*ṇu:ra-*) *to sleep; to lie down*. These second constituents can be considered to be auxiliary in function here, since they often do not retain their basic semantic value and since they seem to serve mainly as props for suffixes. The major semantic burden is therefore on the initial constituents. However, in most cases the initial element does not occur elsewhere and the combination is rather frozen, so it is perhaps not worth the effort to isolate the separate semantic values of the initial and auxiliary constituents.

Examples with -bu- are *birṇil?-bu- to burp*; *waḷat-bu- to cook in sand or ashes*; *jiṭ-bu- to pull out entrails*; *burpuy-bu- to curse, to harm by sorcery*; *guḷa?-bu- to skin*. In the last example the initial element can be identified as the noun *guḷa? skin*, but in the others the initial element cannot occur except in the compound shown. Most instances of -bu- as auxiliary are transitive and most involve some sort of operation inflicted on an object, but the odd example like *birṇil?-bu-* is exceptional in this regard.

Examples with *-mara-* are *wuñ-mara-* *to injure by sorcery, using clothing or another object which has been in contact with victim (this object is called wu:ñ)*; *balk-mara-* *to catch hold of* (*balk-* is otherwise unattested); *yara-mara-* *to steal from ya:ra thief*.

Of the two stance verbs mentioned, only *-gara-* is common in auxiliary constructions. Examples are *bul-gara-* *to cook (intrans.) in a stone oven*; *ḍulmur-gara-* *to tilt; to capsize*; *ḍumḍum?-gara-* *to lean forward*; *ḍapalanan-gara-* *to lie face down*; *bir?-gara-* *to be new moon*. The initial elements here cannot occur independently. An example with *-nura-* is *ṛul-nura-* (*group*) *to lie down*, with reasonably clear preservation of the basic meaning of *-nura-*.

The suffixes used with these compounds are identical to those used after *bu-*, *ma:ra-*, *ga:ra-*, and *ḡa:ra-* as main verbs. However, there are a number of stems, probably compounds with *-bu-*, which fluctuate between the inflectional endings of *bu-* and those characteristic of class 6B. These two paradigms differ only in the Past ending, which is *-maṛa* for *bu-* and *-wala* or *-ḡa* for class 6B. Examples of stems which show this fluctuation: *yurum-bu-* *to dig a well (yurum)*; *!ak-bu-* *to tear (tortoise) flesh from shell*; *!arak-bu-* *to cut in half*; *ṛak-bu-* *to count; to examine*.

## CHAPTER NINE

### SYNTAX

#### 9.1. General

In this chapter I will try to give reasonable coverage of the major syntactic phenomena which readers are likely to come across in texts.

In 9.2 the important problem of pronominal enclisis is discussed. The next sections, 9.3 through 9.10, deal with various other enclitics and particles, some of which are used in certain complex constructions. In 9.11 nonverbal equational sentences are dealt with briefly, while 9.12 introduces the main type of temporal adverbial clauses. In 9.13 through 9.15 the partly interrelated problems of demonstrative syntax, negation, and word-order are considered. 9.16 deals with a special type of Case-Agreement rule applicable to possessive constructions under certain conditions. 9.17 and 9.18 concern the various types of complement clauses which behave syntactically like dative NP's, while 9.19 and 9.20 mention some of the adjustments which affect NP's in infinitival clauses. Conditionals are discussed briefly in 9.21. Sections 9.22 and 9.23 deal with the partly equivalent subordinated clause types with *-puy* and *-qu*. Finally, 9.24 deals with conjunction and 9.25 with some special uses of the verb *wa:ni-* *to go*.

#### 9.2 Enclitic Pronouns

One important syntactic feature which distinguishes Ritharngu from other Yuulngu languages is its use of pronominal enclitics. These enclitics are identical in form to the independent pronouns of Table 4-1, with the parenthesised segments generally omitted in enclitic position; for details on this cf. 4.1.

Equational sentences (9.23) may omit subject-marking enclitic pronouns. Other sentence types require at least a subject-marking

pronoun, which must be either a focussed clause-initial pronoun (usually followed by particle *ya*, cf. 4.6) or an enclitic pronoun. Enclitics are far more common than focussed clause-initial pronouns, which occur only in stylistically marked focus constructions (9.24).

Therefore it is not enough to say *\*wa:ni-na ɖaramu* *The man went*, with *wa:ni-na* *went* followed by the Nominative noun *ɖaramu* *man*. We must also add a 3Sg enclitic pronoun *ɲay* (Nominative) following the verb, hence the correct *wa:ni-na + ɲay ɖaramu*. Here *ɲay* cross-references *ɖaramu* and is thus, strictly speaking, redundant.

Enclitic complexes may consist of up to two pronouns, of which one (nearly always the second, cf. below) is in Nominative case and represents the (intransitive or transitive) subject. If there are two enclitic pronouns, the other is generally either Accusative or Dative.

There are some restrictions on the use of Accusative and Dative enclitics. As observed in 4.2, of the various forms of the third person pronouns, only the Nominative and Genitive can cover the entire lexical range of NP's from human to inanimate. Other case forms, including Accusative and Dative, can refer only to human and 'higher' animate entities. Therefore an inanimate or 'lower' animate NP functioning as direct or indirect object cannot be cross-referenced by an enclitic pronoun.

When there is an Accusative NP in the clause (this must be human or 'higher' animate, cf. 3.5), this must be cross-referenced by an Accusative enclitic pronoun. The sentence *\*ɖaramu-ɲa + ra ɲa:-wala* *I saw the man* (*man-Acc + 1Sg see-Past*) is therefore ungrammatical. It is necessary to add 3Sg Accusative enclitic *ña* cross-referencing *ɖaramu-ɲa*, so the correct sentence is *ɖaramu-ɲa + ña + ra ɲa:-wala*.

If there is a Dative NP in the clause with human or 'higher' animate reference, there is usually a cross-referencing Dative enclitic. This is fairly obligatory when the Dative object is closely bound to the verb, for example when it functions as the complement of *maɪi?-yu-* *to be angry at* or as the indirect object of *ɭakaɾa-* *to tell*. Examples:

*maɪi?-yu-na + ɲan-ɲu + ra ɖiɲ?-gu*  
*be angry-Them-Past 3Sg-Dat 1Sg woman-Dat*  
*I was angry at the woman.*

*ɖaramu-gu + ɲan-ɲu + ra ɭakaɾa-wu*  
*man-Dat 3Sg-Dat 1Sg tell-Fut*  
*I will tell (it) to the man.*

However, when the Dative is only loosely bound to the verb - i.e. when it is semantically peripheral - the Dative enclitic is often omitted. This might happen, for example, when a Dative NP in semantically benefactive or purposive function is added to the end of a clause as an 'afterthought', as in this example:

ma:ra-wu + ra    ɖa:ŋgu    ba:pa-ŋ?-gu  
get-Fut    1Sg meat    father-my-Dat.  
*I will get meat, for my father.*

However, even in this type of construction we often find a Dative enclitic, provided the speaker knows what the indirect object will be at the time he utters the core of the clause: *ma:ra-wu + nan-qu + ra da:ngu ba:pa-n?-qu* with 3Sg Dative *nan-qu*.

There are few examples in the data where there is competition between Accusative and Dative enclitics for the sole enclitic position other than that occupied by the Nominative enclitic. This is because verbs like *!akara-* *to tell* which often take both direct and indirect objects nearly always have 'lower' animate or inanimate direct objects, which cannot be cross-referenced in the enclitic complex. Therefore we must consider examples such as *I killed it (emu, kangaroo, etc.) for you*, where the Dative is semantically rather peripheral. In such instances either the Accusative or Dative NP, but not both simultaneously, is cross-referenced by an enclitic:

bu-maɾa + ɲan-ŋu + ra wurpaŋ-ŋa ba:pa-ŋ?-gu  
kill-Past 3Sg-Dat 1Sg emu-Acc father-my-Dat  
*I kill the emu for my father.*

bu-maɾa + ña + ra wurpaŋ-ŋa ba:pa-ŋ?-gu  
3SgAcc  
(same translation)

Enclitic pronouns in cases other than Nominative, Accusative, and Dative are uncommon. However, there is an occasional example such as this:

wa:ni-na + ɲara-kala-ɲuɽu? + ɲay  
go-Past 1Sg-LocIncr-Ab1 3Sg  
*He went away from me.*

More common would be wa:ni-na + ɣay ɣara-kala-ɣuɣu?, where the Ablative pronoun is formally independent.

As can be seen from many of the examples above, it is common for a Ritharngu clause to have both an independent NP and a cross-referencing

enclitic pronoun. The functional equivalent in Ritharngu of English (Anaphoric) Pronominalisation is to delete the independent NP but retain the enclitic. Thus the 'pronominalised' version of *wa:ni-na + ηay ɖaramu* *The man went (go-Past + 3Sg man)* is *wa:ni-na + ηay* *He went (go-Past + 3Sg)*. It is important to emphasise that such deletions of NP's in Ritharngu are dissimilar to English Equi-NP Deletion, which is triggered by a particular cross-clause coreferentiality relationship and which totally deletes the NP in the subordinated clause, leaving behind no pronominal traces.

Where there are two pronominal enclitics, the normal ordering is to have the Nominative enclitic follow the other enclitic (Accusative, Dative, occasionally a different case). The only exception to this is that 3Sg Accusative *ña* can optionally follow certain nonsingular Nominative enclitic pronouns. The only such combinations attested are *napu + ña* with 1ExPl Nominative *napu* and *ɖumaɖa + ña* with 2Du Nominative *ɖumaɖa*. Even in these instances the normal order is possible: *ña + napu*, *ña + ɖumaɖa*. It appears that Wa:gilak speakers are more likely to use the irregular order (*napu + ña*, *ɖumada + ña*) than are Maɖarpa speakers.

The enclitic complex is added to the first constituent of the clause, regardless of whether it is a verb, or other part of speech. The term 'constituent' here is generally identical to 'word', except that certain combinations of two words may behave as a single constituent. The best example of this is a combination of a noun with a modifying Genitive pronoun, e.g. *ɖan-ηu ba:pa* *his father* (3Sg-Gen *father*). An example:

*ɖan-ηu ba:pa + ηay wa:ni-na ηum-bala*  
 3Sg-Gen *father*    3Sg *go-Past*    *that way*  
*His father went there.*

However, other modifiers such as nouns functioning as adjectives, and demonstrative 'pronouns' used as adjectives, as well as juxtaposed Genitive NP's, are treated as separate constituents. This is consistent with the fact that such modifiers are often pronounced separately, rather like English appositives (*that man, the big one,...*), and are often separated from the modified noun by other words. An example:

*ɖaramu + ηay ɖi:na-na ɖumuru*  
*man*            3Sg *sit-Past*    *big*  
*The big man sat down.*

Or, more literally, *The man sat down, the big one.*



These rules for the positioning of enclitics apply consistently in fairly careful speech. However, readers will find numerous (apparent) counterexamples in texts, due in part to the occurrence of false starts and other discourse phenomena. Omission of pronominal enclitics which are usually obligatory in careful speech is found occasionally in the texts; it must be emphasised, though, that Ritharngu discourse is much less elliptical in this respect than other Yuulngu languages such as Duwal.

### 9.3. nu, ya

In addition to enclitic pronouns, there are a number of other particles which occur as sentence enclitics (following the first constituent of the clause) or as enclitics to particular words. The two most common of these are *nu* and *ya*. When they follow the first constituent of the clause, they precede pronominals:

wa:ni-na	+	nu	+	ṇay
go-Past		now		3Sg
<i>He has gone; He just went.</i>				

Enclitic *nu* will be glossed *now* in morpheme-by-morpheme translations, but is rather different from English *now*. It indicates temporal immediacy generally, and is not restricted to the present tense *now* of the speech act.

The examples above shows that the use of *nu* with a Past tense verb creates a construction similar to the English present perfect. However, in discourse context the same example could be translated ..., *then he went*. In this case, *nu* emphasises the temporal immediacy of the event *he went* with respect to the event(s) described in the preceding clause(s).

With the Present tense, *nu* can be translated as (unstressed) *now*:

maṛi?-yu-n	+	nu	+	ḡali
be angry-Them-Pres		now		3Pl
<i>They are angry now.</i>				

However, when English *now* is stressed, as when it occurs in the answer to a question like *When are you going?*, it should generally be translated by the independent adverb *ga:ḡuṛa today, now, nowadays*.

With Future words, *nu* indicates that the activity described, or its inception, is imminent:

ɲi:n-i + nu + ra  
*sit-Fut now 1Sg*  
*I will sit down now.*

As the examples suggest, *nu* is semantically linked to verbs rather than nouns or other constituents in most instances. In the above examples, since the verb is clause-initial we cannot tell whether *nu* is a sentence enclitic added to the first constituent (which just happens to be the verb), or whether it is a word enclitic specifically attached to the verb. Both interpretations are possible, since when the verb is noninitial we have a choice between adding *nu* to the first constituent or adding it to the verb:

ɲum-bala + nu + ɲay wa:ni-na  
*that way now 3Sg go-Past*  
*He has gone that way.*

ɲum-bala + ɲay wa:ni-na + nu  
 (same translation)

Occasionally, *nu* can be added to a constituent other than a verb:

ɭuk-i + ɲay ɲaʒa + nu  
*eat-Fut 3Sg food now*  
*He will eat (vegetable) food now.*

Here *ɲaʒa (vegetable) food* is by implication opposed to *ɖa:ŋgu meat*, and other nonvegetable foods.

The enclitic *ya* is also common. Whereas *nu* is used chiefly as a sentence enclitic or as enclitic to a verb, *ya* is always a word enclitic and can follow words of all major form classes. It is especially common after nouns and adverbs, and is somewhat less common after verbs. It normally cannot co-occur with *nu* after the same word, but there are a handful of instances in the texts where the two do co-occur; in this event the order is *ya + nu* (Texts 30.1, 23) or *nu + ya* (Texts 2, 29.2).

It is difficult to describe the semantics of *ya*, but basically I consider it a weak absolute element which emphasises the syntactic autonomy of the word to which it is added. For example, in the very typical 'afterthought' sentence type where a core clause (verb plus pronominal enclitics and perhaps one or two nouns or adverbs) is uttered, then a NP or adverb is added after a pause, the latter is likely to have *ya* after it. An example:

ɭakaɾa-wala + ɲan-ɲu + ɖali ɖa:wu + ya ɖaramu-gu + ya  
*tell-Past 3Sg-Dat 3Pl word man-Dat*  
*They told the words to the man.*

This 'broken' construction is so common in careful speech that we might almost consider it normal in Ritharngu. In this example both the direct and indirect objects are represented by 'afterthought' NP's, and both take *ya*.

The enclitic *ya* is also common after demonstratives, and the combination *gi ya* (for *gi* cf. 5.7) can be found many times in the texts. Because it is so common here, *ya* has hardly any discernible semantic or grammatical functions in this combination.

The use of *ya* in constructive emphatics with clause-initial focussed pronouns is described in 4.6.

#### 9.4. *ʔaʔ*, *-ʔununu*

The morpheme *ʔaʔ*, which can be either a sentence enclitic or a word enclitic (usually to a verb) can be translated *for a while*, *temporarily*. An example:

num-bala + *ʔaʔ* + ra wa:n-i  
*that way*                      1Sg go-Fut  
*I will go that way for a while.*

There is an implication here that the speaker is only going away for a brief period and that he will return after that. Further examples: Texts 25.1, 37.1, 37.2.

The morpheme *-ʔununu* can be considered either as an enclitic or suffix. On the basis of the fact that it cannot be pronounced independently because of its initial cluster, I will treat it as a suffix, but the usefulness of such fine distinctions is doubtful.

This suffix is rare, occurring only twice in my data, on both occasions attached to verbs. It seems to be semantically similar to *nu now* (9.3).

#### 9.5. *-ʔiririʔ*, *bukiʔ*

The suffix *-ʔiririʔ* is common especially after verbs. It can be translated as *only*, *merely* or *still*, *constantly*. An example:

*ni:na-Ø-ʔiririʔ* + *ɲay*  
*sit-Pres-only*              3Sg  
*He does nothing but sit; He is still sitting.*

The word enclitic *bukiʔ* is much less common but seems to have the same kind of meaning.

9.6 Particles *ɖu:ku*, *muŋuy?*, *bulu*, *muka*, *yu?*, *bili*

The particle *ɖu:ku*, which is not an enclitic (or at least not always so), is translatable *vainly*. An example:

*ɳaraw?-ma-ŋ + ɳara ɖu:ku*  
*break-Caus-Pres 1Sg vainly*

*I am unable to break it; I am trying (vainly) to break it.*

As the translations suggest, *ɖu:ku* is considerably more common than English *vainly*, and is pivotal in Ritharngu versions of the *to try to* construction, among others.

The particle *muŋuy?* also appears not to be an enclitic. It means *constantly* or *permanently*.

*muŋuy? + ɳay !uka-Ø*  
*constantly 3Sg eat-Pres*  
*He always eats.*

The particle *bulu* is translatable *again* in most instances:

*bulu + ɖali yuɖ-ɖu-na*  
*again 3Pl run-Them-Past*  
*They ran away again.*

The particle *muka*, at least in many cases, occurs in sentences which are intended to dispel the addressee's doubts about the correctness of a statement. For example, when I was collecting flora-fauna vocabulary by presenting specimens or photos to groups of informants, they would sometimes disagree initially. One speaker might begin by saying *That is green plum tree* (*muŋjuč*), then another might express doubt or disagreement, and then the first speaker might say *muŋjuč muka Oh yes it is green plum!*. In texts, however, *muka* can carry out other functions as well, and can sometimes be translated *probably*, indicating that the speaker himself has some doubts but thinks that what he said is most likely correct.

The particle *yu?* is apparently always found at the end of an utterance, and is pronounced like an interjection with stress and high pitch. It can be translated *there look!* or the like, and emphasises the actual perceptual manifestation of something which had previously been hidden (though perhaps suspected or talked about):

*wa:ni-Ø + ɖali yu?*  
*go-Pres 3Pl*  
*There they go!*

The particle *bili* literally means *finished, enough* and occurs in the common expression *bili + nu* *That's all; It is finished now*. However, it can also be used at the beginning of a clause to emphasise that the activity or state described in the preceding clause has been completed, and thus emphasises the break between the two clauses. Examples are in Text 18.

#### 9.7. *gala?*, *ɲiya?*

The particles *gala?* and *ɲiya?* can be used in the sense *all right?*, following a Future verb (in indicative or imperative sense):

wa:n-i + nu + ra *gala?*  
 go-Fut now 1Sg *all right?*  
*I am going now, all right?*

ɲi:n-i + ɲi: yaŋ?-ɲaɾa *ɲiya?*  
 sit-Fut 2Sg here *all right?*  
*Sit down here, all right?*

Neither of these particles occurred in spontaneous utterances in my corpus, but were elicited by asking speakers who also knew Nunggubuyu what their equivalent for Nunggubuyu *ala all right?* was.

#### 9.8. *ga-ɬa?*, *ga-ɕuy*, *ga-yaga*, *gana*

A number of other Yuulngu languages have a particle *ga* *and*. This is rare as such in Ritharngu; where the other languages have *ga*, Ritharngu usually has a kind of grunt similar to English *Uh...* This grunt does not seem to be pronounced with regular phonemes and is accordingly not indicated in transcriptions.

However, there are several particles which appear to begin with *ga-*, followed by another element frozen to it. Therefore *ga-* can be taken as a sort of prop for the other element.

The combination *ga-ɬa?* *later* (Pidgin *by and by*) is the clearest example, since it contains the morpheme *ɬa?*, usually an enclitic (9.4). Another example is *ga-ɕuy*, a sort of interjection referring to motion, and as a rude imperative translatable *go away!*. This contains a morpheme related to Nunggubuyu *juy!*, which has similar uses.

Perhaps *ga-yaga* is another example. This was elicited as the Ritharngu equivalent for Nunggubuyu *araga*, a particle indicating an exciting or sudden turn of events, often translatable as *suddenly*. It does not seem to be etymologically related to *araga*, however.

The element *gana* (possibly *ga-na*) and *so* is another possibility (Texts 27.1, 32.2, 38.2, etc.).

The form *gala?* (9.7) seems not to contain *ga-* historically, since this can correspond regularly to the Nunggubuyu particle *ala*, both reflecting *\*gala(?)*.

#### 9.9. *waray*

This is a particle or sentence enclitic, which can be loosely translated *indeed; to be sure*. One fairly common construction in which it is involved is seen in this example:

*la-n-ŋu-wa + waray + ŋa + ra bulu + ŋa yuṭ-du-na + nu*  
*spear-Aug-Fut-Pot indeed 3SgAcc again 3Sg run-Them-Past now*  
*I was about to spear him, but he ran away.*

This construction is important since it corresponds to many instances of the English adversative construction where the second clause begins with *but*. In the Ritharngu construction, *waray* occurs in the first clause, and the second usually begins with *bulu again*, which here acquires a special sense.

As an enclitic, *waray* follows *nu* or *ya* (9.3) but precedes enclitic pronouns.

#### 9.10. *yamba because*

This is a sentence enclitic or independent particle, which converts an ordinary clause into a *because*-clause. An example:

*wa:ni-∅ + ŋay yamba ŋara + ya wa:n-i*  
*go-Pres 3Sg because 1Sg go-Fut*  
*Because he is going, I too will go.*

In this example *yamba* is an independent particle; if it is treated as a sentence enclitic the first clause becomes *wa:ni-∅ + yamba + ŋay*, which is equally grammatical.

#### 9.11. Equational Sentences

In an equational sentence, the predicate is a noun rather than a verb. An example with pronominal subject:

*maŋŋi + ra*  
*knowledgeable 1Sg*  
*I know.*

When the logical subject is a third person pronoun, this appears in its expected form as an enclitic pronominal:

maŋgi + ŋay  
*He knows.*

When the subject is a noun, the cross-referencing third person pronominal enclitic usually appears:

maŋgi + ŋay ba:pa-ŋ?  
*father-my*  
*My father knows.*

However, there are some examples of equational sentences where a cross-referencing third person enclitic is omitted when the subject is represented by a noun:

ŋu:ka? yaku + ya  
*stone this*  
*This is a stone.*

Unfortunately, my data does not permit a full statement of the conditions under which this omission of the enclitic is possible (it seems to be most common when a demonstrative is involved).

The Genitive-Dative can also be used in equational sentences:

yaku + ya ŋara-ku  
*this me-Gen/Dat*  
*This is mine.*

#### 9.12. Temporal Adverbials with -ɬaŋ?

The suffix -ɬaŋ?, mentioned earlier in 3.17, forms adverbs of time when added to the verb or other predicate of a clause. An example with a Past tense verb:

guyupa-na-ɬaŋ? + ŋay ɖul?-ma-ŋ + ɖali  
*die-Past-Temp 3Sg burn-Caus-Pres 3Pl*  
*When somebody has died, they burn grass.*

Another example, this time with Future verb:

ɖawala-ɬ-i-ɬaŋ? ɖa:-ŋu + ña + ra  
*healthy-Inch-Fut-Temp see-Fut 3SgAcc 1Sg*  
*When he is feeling better, I will see him.*

As comparison of the two examples suggests, the temporal clause can either retain or omit its subject-marking pronominal enclitic.



An example with Temporal -ɬaŋ? added to a nominal predicate:

yu:ɬu-ɬaŋ? ba:pa-ŋ? + ŋay guyupa-na  
 child-Temp father-my 3Sg die-Past  
*While a child, my father died.*

The context makes it fairly plain that the omitted subject of *While a child* is the speaker, not his father. However, the latter interpretation is also grammatically possible, and if a classificatory rather than actual father is referred to it is also contextually appropriate. It is possible to avoid ambiguity by adding a pronominal enclitic, e.g. yu:ɬu-ɬaŋ? + ŋay *While he was a child* with 3Sg ŋay.

Temporal adverbial clauses with -ɬaŋ? are approximately as common in Ritharngu as are *while* and *when* clauses in English.

### 9.13. Demonstrative Pronouns vs. Adverbs

Ritharngu shares with certain nearby languages such as Nunggubuyu a series of peculiarities in the use of demonstrative pronouns and Locative demonstrative adverbs.

English *He is here* is normally translated as follows:

yaku + ŋay  
 this 3Sg  
*He is here.*

This can be expanded by adding a stance verb, as in yaku + ŋay ŋi:na-Ø *He is sitting here*. Such stance verbs are more common in this construction type than in English.

In the example above we find a demonstrative pronoun yaku rather than a Locative demonstrative adverb yaŋ?-ŋaɾa *here*. Although it is possible to elicit sentences like ŋi:na-Ø + ŋay yaŋ?-ŋaɾa *He is sitting here* with yaŋ?-ŋaɾa rather than demonstrative pronoun yaku, it is more common to say yaku + ŋay ŋi:na-Ø. Furthermore, when the stance verb is omitted, it becomes less acceptable to use the adverb, so that yaŋ?-ŋaɾa + ŋay *He is here* is, if not completely ungrammatical, at least uncommon and of marginal grammaticality.

However, the situation changes in negative contexts, or when the tense is other than the present. Examples of the negative type *He is not here* are given in 9.14; we may anticipate by glossing the Ritharngu forms structurally as *absent + he here* or *here-not + he* where *here* is the adverb yaŋ?-ŋaɾa rather than the demonstrative pronoun yaku. In the past tense (positive), we generally get the following type:

ɲi:na-ɲa + ɲay ɲaŋ?-ɲaɾa  
 sit-Past 3Sg here  
 He was (sitting) here.

In this situation we normally get an inflected verb, rather than an equivalent of the verbless type *yaku + ɲay* *He is here* shown above. In other words, the verbless construction is normally construed as referring to present time.

In this type *ɲi:na-ɲa + ɲay ɲaŋ?-ɲaɾa*, we find the adverb *ɲaŋ?-ɲaɾa* rather than demonstrative pronoun *yaku*. We may account for this in large part by observing that the other possibility, e.g. *yaku + ɲay ɲi:na-ɲa*, would normally be interpreted as meaning *This (man) was sitting*.

Nevertheless, there are many examples in the texts where a demonstrative pronoun is used instead of an adverb in the past (or future) tense. This is much more common with non-Proximate demonstrative stems like *ɲuki* than with Proximate *yaku*. An example:

ɲuki + ɲi + ɲay ɲi:na-ɲa  
 that 3Sg sit-Past  
 He sat (stayed) at that same place.

An alternative to this is *ɲaŋ?-ɲiɾi + ɲi + ɲay ɲi:na-ɲa* with *ɲaŋ?-ɲiɾi* (from *ɲaŋ?-ɲaɾa*) *there*, a Locative demonstrative adverb.

Aside from small differences, these facts are consistent with the relative distribution of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs in Nunggubuyu and other nearby languages. However, it is more difficult to elucidate the syntax of demonstrative pronouns in Ritharngu than in Nunggubuyu, since in the latter language they must agree in noun class with their referents. Thus, in the Nunggubuyu equivalent of Ritharngu *yaku + ɲay* *He is here*, namely *ya:-gi*, we find a demonstrative pronoun agreeing in noun class with the subject, in this case *He*. Cf. Nunggubuyu *ya:-ma* *It (MANA-class) is here*, *ya:-wuru* *They are here*, etc. However, in tenses other than the present, and in the negative, Nunggubuyu cannot use a demonstrative pronoun agreeing with the subject, but must instead use either a) a Locative demonstrative adverb, as in *ni-bura-ɲa-ñ ya:-ji* *He sat down here* with *ya:-ji* *here*, or b) a demonstrative pronoun in the ANA-class, agreeing with the region, as in *ba-ni ni-bura-ɲa-ñ* *He sat down there* with *ba-ni* *that* (ANA-class). All place names are in the ANA-class, and adverbs like *ya:-ji* *here* can be treated as ANA-class nouns.

This excursion into Nunggubuyu grammar has been made since it suggests a possible analysis of Ritharngu demonstrative syntax in

which demonstrative pronouns are subdivided into a type agreeing with the subject and a type agreeing with the region. Thus Ritharngu *yaku this* corresponds both to Nunggubuyu *ya:-gi this* (masc. sg.) and so forth, agreeing with the subject, and to Nunggubuyu invariable *ya:-ni* agreeing with the region.

However, some caution must be exercised in jumping from Nunggubuyu syntax to Ritharngu. The fact that Ritharngu lacks noun classes, so that *yaku this* taken by itself can refer to the subject or the region, means that any syntactic distinctions of this sort can only be justified synchronically on the basis of rather delicate syntactic arguments. I would agree that the past tense Ritharngu type *ɲuki + ɟi + ɲay ɲi:na-ŋa He was (sitting) there* has a demonstrative pronoun referring to the region, since for semantic reasons *ɲuki* cannot be taken as meaning *that (person)* here. The statement *He was there* does not allow the inference that *He* is still in the non-Proximate region at the time of the utterance, since he may have changed position. However, the region has remained in the same position, and so can plausibly be the referent of *ɲuki*. So far, Ritharngu seems to agree with Nunggubuyu.

However, in the present tense positive type *yaku + ɲay He is here*, it is not at all clear from synchronic Ritharngu evidence that *yaku* refers to *He* rather than to the region *here*. In fact, there is some evidence that *here* is indeed the referent. When the subject is plural, e.g. 3Pl pronoun *ɟali*, the demonstrative pronoun usually does not take Pl *-wač* (or Du *-mañji*?) in agreement:

*ɲuku + ɟali*  
*that 3Pl*  
*They are there.*

Or, with a stance verb, *ɲuku + ɟali ɲi:na-Ø They are sitting there*. Unless we consider this an instance where number agreement could have applied, but was omitted by the speaker (which does not seem to be correct since the form shown is far more common than the type *ɲuku-wač + ɟali* with Pl *-wač*), we must conclude that *ɲuku* here refers to the region *there* rather than to the subject.

The same sort of rules determining when to use a demonstrative pronoun and when to use a demonstrative adverb apply to interrogatives. The interrogative demonstrative stem *ɲika--yika-* is syntactically parallel to *yaku this*, *ɲuku that*, etc., while the interrogative demonstrative adverb *ɲiŋ?-ɲaɾa where?* is parallel to *yaŋ?-ɲaɾa here* and *ɲuŋ?-ɲaɾa there*. Thus *Where is he?* is *ɲika + ɲay*, while past

tense *Where was he?* is usually  $\eta i\eta?-\eta a\eta a + \eta a y \eta i:na-\eta a$  with  $\eta i:na-\eta a$  sat.

#### 9.14. Negation

The basic Negative morpheme is the suffix  $-?may?$ . This is most often added to the verb (or a nonverbal constituent functioning as predicate):

$wa:n i-na-?may? + napu$   
*go-Past-Neg* 1ExPl  
*We did not go.*

$mun a\eta a-?may? + ra$   
*White-Neg* 1Sg  
*I am not a White.*

Occasionally it is attached to a nonpredicative constituent when its scope is limited to that constituent:

$wa:n-i + \eta i: galki-?may?$   
*go-Fut* 2Sg *nearby-Neg*  
*Go far away!*

There are no tense restrictions on the use of  $-?may?$ , so it can occur with Present, Past, and Future suffixes. Contrast Ngandi Negative  $-?may?$  used only in the present.

A different Negative morpheme, *yaka*, is used in negative imperatives (prohibitives):

$yaka + \eta i: wa:n-i$   
*Neg* 2Sg *go-Fut*  
*Don't go!*

This is distinct from the ordinary negative form of the future:

$wa:n-i-?may? + \eta i:$   
*go-Fut-Neg* 2Sg  
*You will not go.*

For a slightly different use of *yaka* (still, however, prohibitive in a sense) see Text 24.4 (*yaka + ma\eta\eta a* allowed *They are not allowed*).

An alternative negative imperative construction with Privative  $-mi\eta i w$  following a nominalised verb with suffix  $-Na-$  is exemplified by this:

$!uka-\eta a-mi\eta i w (+ \eta i:)$   
*eat-Nom-Priv* 2Sg  
*Don't eat!; No eating!*

Here the indication of the second person subject is optional.

Sentences of the types *He is not (here, there, etc.)* or *There is no (meat, etc.)* are based on a Negative element *yaka-nu absent*. This contains *yaka* (cf. above) and the suffix *-nu* in a special function (3.1). Examples:

*yaka-nu + nay (yan?-nara)*  
*absent 3Sg here*  
*He is absent; He is not (here).*

*yaka-nu + nay da:ngu*  
*meat*  
*There is no meat.*

In the *He is not here* sense it is also possible to use a regular verbal construction with a stance verb followed by *-?may?*:

*ni:na-Ø-?may? + nay yan?-nara*  
*sit-Pres-Neg 3Sg here*  
*He is not (sitting) here.*

The form *yaka-nu* can also be added to ordinary negative sentences of virtually any type, resulting in an emphatic negative utterance translatable with an English expression such as *nowhere, no-one, nothing, never, or at all*:

*yaka-nu + nay luka-na-?may?*  
*absent 3Sg eat-Past-Neg*  
*He didn't eat at all; He ate nothing; He never ate.*

This construction is formally distinguishable from the prohibitive type *yaka + ni: ni:n-i* (cf. above) by the fact that we have *yaka-nu* instead of *yaka*, the fact that the verb may be in any tense (not just future), and the fact that the regular Negative element *-?may?* is present.

Other Yuulngu languages such as *Duwal* and *Day?yi* use *yaka* as their basic Negative morpheme. They lack *-?may?*, which *Ritharngu* has borrowed from *Ngandi*. As a result of this borrowing, *yaka* (and its derivative *yaka-nu*) have become specialised and restricted in scope in *Ritharngu*.

#### 9.15. Focus and Word-Order

Word-order in *Ritharngu* is rather variable in *Ritharngu* clauses. As suggested in 9.3, *Ritharngu* sentences are often composed of an initial core clause followed by NP's and/or adverbs set off by brief

pauses as 'afterthoughts'. Since the core clause consists basically of a verb and its affixes and enclitics, plus perhaps another item or two, verbs are very often clause-initial. If we are required to label the language according to its 'normal' order of major constituents, we should probably say it is a verb-first language, with the relative order of subject and object rather free.

If a constituent other than the verb is singled out for focus, it most often appears at the beginning of the clause. If it is a pronoun, it appears in this position rather than as an enclitic to the first major constituent, and often is followed by the enclitic *ya* (4.6). If it is a noun it also appears clause-initially, and sometimes takes *ya* but usually is without it:

ga:ngu + ra luka-na  
meat 1Sg eat-Past

*I ate meat (not vegetables); It was meat that I ate.*

Interrogative sentences of the *who/what/when/where* type (i.e. not the yes/no type) are treated as focus constructions with focus on the interrogative word. Thus expressions such as *waɾa who?*, *na: what?*, *nika which?*, *nika-wala to where?*, *niŋ?-naɾa where?*, and *na:-taŋ? when?* nearly always come at the beginning of clauses in careful speech:

nika-wala + ɲay wa:ni-na  
to where? 3Sg go-Past  
*Where did he go?*

The corresponding answers are also often treated as focus constructions, with the NP or adverb corresponding semantically to the interrogative word occurring at the beginning of the clause:

ɲum-bala + ɲay wa:ni-na  
that way 3Sg go-Past  
*He went that way.*

#### 9.16. Case-Agreement

A special kind of Case-Agreement transformation is applicable to possessive constructions when the possessed NP is in the Locative, Allative, Ablative, or Pergressive cases. In such constructions the possessor NP loses its usual Genitive suffix and assimilates to the case category of the possessed NP. Thus compare the usual possessive type *ɲu-ɲu ɖawal your country* with this:

wa:n-i + nu + ra    ɲu:-kala-li?    ɠawal-li?  
 go-Fut    now    1Sg 2Sg-LocIncr-All    country-All  
*I am going to your country.*

Formally, it would look as though the two Allative NP's are in apposition, hence a literal translation *I am going to you, to the country*. However, this literal translation is misleading, since the possessor (here *you*) does not have to be in or near the possessed noun (*country*) and is therefore not necessarily a semantically valid allative object.

This rule applies only when the possessed NP is in one of the four cases listed above. It does not apply when the possessed NP is in another case such as the Nominative, Accusative, or Instrumental. (If the possessed NP is Dative or Genitive, we cannot tell whether the rule has applied since the possessor NP will be in Genitive-Dative inflection anyway.) An example with Instrumental possessed NP:

yaku-n?-gu + ña + ra    |a-na    maɠa|ungu-y  
 this-Aug-Gen    3SgAcc    1Sg spear-Past    hook-spear-Inst  
*I speared him with this man's hook spear.*

#### 9.17. Future and Past Potential Verbs in Subordinated Clauses

The uses of Past Potential and Future verb forms in ordinary sentences has been mentioned in 7.25. A sentence like wa:n-i + ɲi: with Future verb can be translated *Go!*, *You will go*, *You can go*, or *You should go*. Similarly, Past Potential wa:n-i-ya + ɲi: can be translated *You would have gone*, *You should have gone*, *You could have gone*, or *You were about to go*.

Either the Future or Past Potential can also be used as a purposive clause. The choice between the Future and Past Potential depends on the tense of the verb in the main clause. If the latter is Present or Future the subordinated purposive clause has the Future, while if it is Past the subordinated clause has the Past Potential:

wa:n-i + nu + ra    |a-n-ɲu    + ña + ra  
 go-Fut    now    1Sg spear-Aug-Fut    3SgAcc    1Sg  
*I am going now, in order to spear him.*

wa:ni-na + ra    |a-n-ɲu-wa    + ña + ra  
 go-Past    1Sg    spear-Aug-Pot-Pa    3SgAcc    1Sg  
*I went, in order to kill him.*

More literal translations would be *I will go, in order that I kill him* and so forth, since the pronouns marking subject and object are



not deleted in the Ritharngu subordinated clauses here.

Note that the construction *I am going here, in order to spear him* is also translatable as a simple conjunction of two sentences: *I am going, I will kill him*. Therefore the 'subordinated' clause in the Ritharngu purposive construction is not as sharply subordinated to the 'main' clause as is the English purposive clause.

The Future and Past Potential can also be used as complements to certain verbs and adjectival nouns in the main clause, e.g. *ja:l-ɬi-to want* and *maŋgi knowledgeable*:

*ja:l-ɬi-ri + ɲan-ŋu + ra ɭa-n-ŋu + ña + ra*  
*want-Inch-Pres 3Sg-Dat 1Sg spear-Aug-Fut 3SgAcc 1Sg*  
*I want to spear him.*

*maŋgi + ɲi: waŋ-i + ɲi: ɾiɬarŋu-ŋuɾu?*  
*knowledgeable 2Sg speak-Fut 2Sg Ritharngu-Abl*  
*You know how to speak Ritharngu.*

These complement clauses are syntactically parallel to NP's in the Dative case. Compare the examples above with these examples showing nominal complements:

*ja:l-ɬi-ri + ra ɲaɬa-gu*  
*food-Dat*  
*I want (vegetable) food.*

*maŋgi + ɲi: ɲaɬa-gu*  
*You know about the (vegetable) food.*

The etymological identity of the Genitive-Dative suffix allomorphs used with nouns and pronouns with the Future allomorphs of class 6 verbs has been commented on in 2.4.

#### 9.18. Infinitive Clauses

The forms of the infinitive verbal form have been described in the various sections of Chapter Seven. Generally speaking, infinitive clauses are interchangeable with Future and Past Potential clauses in their purposive and complement functions described in 9.17. Thus we have examples like the following:

*wa:ni-na + ra ɲan-ŋu ɭa-n-ɾawu*  
*go-Past 1Sg 3Sg-Gen spear-Aug-Infin*  
*I went in order to spear him.*

ja:l-ti-ri + nan-nu + ra la-n-rawu  
want-Pres 3Sg-Dat 1Sg spear-Aug-Infin  
*I want to spear him.*

maŋgi + ŋi: waŋa-ŋa-rawu riṭarŋu-ŋuṛu?  
 knowledgeable 2Sg speak-Aug-Infin Ritharngu-Abl  
*You know how to speak Ritharngu.*

Infinitive clauses differ from Future and Past Potential clauses inasmuch as the former are formally reduced clauses while the latter are identical to simple independent clauses. The Infinitive ending is unspecified for tense, so the distinction between past potential and future is lost (though usually recoverable from context). Furthermore, whereas future and past potential clauses take a full load of pronominal enclitics, marking at least the subject of the clause and often also its direct and/or indirect objects, there are no pronominal enclitics in an infinitive clause. If the subject and/or direct object are overtly indicated in the infinitive clause, they show up with the Genitive suffix (cf. 9.20), as in the first of the three examples above. Note that in none of the three is the underlying subject of the infinitive clause overtly indicated (though it can be deduced by interpretative rules). Therefore infinitive clauses can be taken as morphologically simplified versions of future or past potential clauses. Like these clause types, infinitives are syntactically parallel to NP's in the Dative case. Infinitives cannot be used as subjects or direct objects of main clauses.

### 9.19. Copy-Raising

Consider these sentences, the first with a future complement, the second with an infinitival complement:

ja:l-t̪i-ri + ɲan-ŋu + ra    ʎa-n-ŋu + ña + ra  
want-Pres    3Sg-Dat    1Sg    spear-Aug-Fut    3SgAcc    1Sg  
*I want to spear him.*

ja:l-ti-ri + nan-nu + ra      !a-n-rawu  
spear-Aug-Infin  
*I want to spear him.*

The point we are interested in here is the occurrence of a Dative pronominal enclitic in the main clause. The most suitable explanation for this is that there is a rule which raises a pronominal copy of one of the dependent-clause NP's into the main clause, where it functions

as the surface Dative object of the main-clause verb (or predicate adjectival noun). It does not seem reasonable on either semantic or syntactic grounds to consider *nan-nu* in the examples above as belonging to the main clause in the (semantic) deep structure.

In these examples the NP which is copy-raised is the underlying direct object of the dependent clause. If the complement clause is intransitive, its subject is copy-raised:

ja:l-t̥i-ri + nan-nu + ra      wa:ni-ña-rawu  
go-Aug-Infin

*I want him to go.*

Furthermore, when the complement is transitive it is possible for the subject as well as the object to be raised, as shown by the following synonymous but formally distinct sentences:

ja:l-t̥i-ri + nu-nu + ra    la-n-nu      + ña    + ni:  
want-Pres    2Sg-Dat    1Sg    spear-Aug-Fut    3SgAcc    2Sg  
*I want you to spear him.*

ja:l-t̥i-ri + nan-nu + ra      la-n-nu + ña + ni:  
3SgDat

*I want you to spear him.*

In the first example, the subject-marking pronoun *ni: you* in the complement has been copy-raised as a dative NP in the main clause. In the second example, it is the object-marking pronominal *ña him* in the complement which is copy-raised into the main clause.

There is, however, one important restriction. A NP in the complement which is coreferential to the subject of the main clause cannot be copy-raised. In other words, Copy-Raising cannot produce a surface main clause with coreferential subject and indirect object. Thus, whereas in the last two examples above the speaker can copy-raise either the subject or object of the complement (because neither is coreferential to the main-clause subject), in the earlier example *I want to spear him*, reflecting underlying *I want (that) I spear him*, the only possible Ritharngu surface structure is literally *I want him-Dative, I will kill him*, not *\*I want myself-Dative, I will kill him*. This applies also to intransitive complements, so that if the subject of the complement is coreferential to the main-clause subject there can be no Copy-Raising:

ja:l-t̥i-ri + ra      wa:ni-ña-rawu  
want-Pres    1Sg    go-Aug-Infin  
*I want to go.*

Another restriction on Copy-Raising results from the fact that the main clause, like other clauses, can have at most one pronominal enclitic other than the subject-marking enclitic. In the examples above with *ja:l-ti-* *to want* the only main-clause NP in underlying structures is the subject. There is consequently no difficulty in adding a copy-raised dative pronominal enclitic. However, there are other constructions where there is already an accusative or dative enclitic in the main clause, and in such instances Copy-Raising cannot apply. For example, *waŋa-* *to speak*, *to speak to* can be a transitive verb in simple sentences: *waŋa-ŋa + ña + ra* *I spoke to him*, with 3Sg Accusative *ña*. This can be extended as a complex construction with sentential complement:

*waŋa-ŋa + ña + ra    la-n-rawu    diŋ?-wač-gu*  
*speak-Past    3SgAcc    1Sg    spear-Aug-Infin woman-Pl-Gen*  
*I told him to spear the women.*

Note that there is no dative pronominal in the main clause in this surface structure.

Copy-Raising applies generally, with the restrictions noted, when the future, past potential, or infinitival clause is a closely-bound complement to the verb or adjectival noun of the main clause. It does not apply regularly when the subordinated clause is only loosely subordinated semantically, e.g. in purposive clauses. In this construction type the main clause does not take a copy-raised dative pronominal, and in general is entirely independent formally from the subordinated clause, so that the latter can be added as an 'after-thought' after the main clause has been uttered:

*wa:ni-na + ra    ŋan-ŋu    la-n-rawu*  
*go-Past    1Sg    3Sg-Gen spear-Aug-Infin*  
*I went, in order to spear him.*

## 9.20. NP-Deletion and Genitivisation

These two processes apply under certain conditions to infinitival clauses, but not to future or past potential clauses.

If the subject of an infinitival clause is coreferential to the subject of the main clause, it is deleted:

*ja:l-ti-ri + ra    wa:ni-ña-rawu*  
*want-Inch-Pres    1Sg    go-Aug-Infin*  
*I want to go.*

ja:l-ti-ri + nan-nu + ra      !a-n-rawu  
    3Sg-Dat    1Sg    spear-Aug-Infin  
*I want to spear him.*

In both examples the infinitival clause is without an overt subject, though of course the underlying subject can normally be recovered by interpretative rules.

The second example shows that a NP, for example the direct object, can be deleted provided a pronominal copy has been transferred to the main clause by Copy-Raising (9.19). This deletion is regular when the direct object has already been pronominalised. However, since Copy-Raising adds only a pronominal counterpart of the direct object to the main clause, if the direct object is a noun or full NP it is not deleted from the infinitival clause.

There are other instances where a subject and/or direct object cannot be deleted. As noted in 9.19, a direct object cannot be copy-raised when the main clause has no room for it (because there is already a dative or accusative pronominal in it), or when it is coreferential to the main-clause subject (as in *I want him to find me*). If the infinitival clause is transitive, and neither its subject nor object is coreferential to the main-clause subject (*I want you to spear him*), either of the two may be copy-raised, and whichever one is not copy-raised cannot be deleted from the infinitival clause. Finally, Copy-Raising is inapplicable to purposive complements.

In these instances an underlying subject or direct object, or both, must remain on the surface in the infinitival clause. However, they are obligatorily genitivised, becoming surface 'possessors' of the infinitive (which is formally nominal). Examples:

wana-na + ña + ra      !a-n-rawu      diŋ?-wač-gu  
    3SgAcc    1Sg    spear-Aug-Infin woman-Pl-Gen  
*I told him to spear the women.*

ja:l-ti-ri + nan-nu + ra      !a-n-rawu      daramu-gu  
    3Sg-Dat    1Sg    spear-Aug-Infin man-Gen  
*I want to spear the man.*

wa:ni-na + ra      nan-nu      !a-n-rawu  
    1Sg      3Sg-Gen    spear-Aug-Infin  
*I went, in order to spear him.*

ja:l-ti-ri + nan-ŋu + ra      ŋu-ŋu    la-n-ɾawu  
want-Pres      3Sg-Dat    1Sg    2Sg-Dat spear-Aug-Infin  
*I want you to spear him or I want him to spear you.*

The ambiguity in the last example can be resolved by using a future clause rather than the infinitive: ja:l-ti-ri + ɲan-ɲu + ra, la-n-ɲu + ña + ɲi: *I want you to spear him* vs. ja:l-ti-ri + ɲan-ɲu + ra, la-n-ɲu + ɲu-na + ɲay *I want him to spear you*.

## 9.21. Conditionals

Past tense contrary-to-fact conditional constructions can be formed using past potential verb forms in both clauses:

wa:n-i-ya + ɲay ɲum-bala + ya      bulu + ɲay guyup-i-ya  
go-PaPot      3Sg *that way*      again 3Sg *die*-PaPot  
*If he had gone that way, he would have died.*

The use of *bulu again*, here in a special sense approximating *so that*, is typical.

Ordinary conditionals of the type *If I see him I will spear him* can be expressed by a similar construction using future verbs instead of past potential ones:

[illegible]

Neither of the two conditional constructions requires that the two clauses share a coreferential NP. An example showing this:

wa:n-i + ɲay ɲum-bala + ya      bulu + ra guyup-i  
I  
*If he goes, I will die.*

### 9.22. Clauses with Associative -puy

The Associative suffix *-puy* can be added either to ordinary inflected forms of verbs (e.g. the past and future tense forms), or to the nominalisation with suffix *-Na-*. For many verb classes the past form and the nominalisation are identical, so there are many examples where we cannot tell for sure whether a past tense form or a nominalisation is at hand. For certain verb classes, e.g. class 4, we can clearly differentiate the two types.

In the sense *about, concerning* we find -puy in such constructions as this one:

wəŋa-ŋa + ra-ŋa + ŋay bu-ŋa-mi-na-puy  
*speak-Past 1Sg-Acc 3Sg hit-Aug-Recip-Nom-Ass*  
*He told me about the fighting.*

When added to inflected verb forms, -puy generally creates a subordinated clause translatable as either a relative clause or an *it being the case that...* clause. Such clauses are far less common than, but semantically very similar to, clauses in -ŋu (9.23). An example:

bu-w-a-puy + ña + ra ŋañ + ja + ra-ku wiɖi?-yu-na  
*hit-PaPot-Ass 3SgAcc 1Sg 3Sg 1Sg-Dat flee-Them-Past*  
*As I was about to hit him, he fled from me.*

### 9.23. Clauses with Subordinator -ŋu

This clause type is very common, and it constitutes one of the important phenomena which make Ritharngu syntax so different from that of the other Yuulngu languages.

The suffix -ŋu is added to an inflected verb, and aside from the -ŋu the clause is formally identical to an independent sentence. The enclitic pronominals are not deleted in careful speech, though in the texts a few examples of deletion have been found, reflecting rapid or sloppy speech.

Clauses with -ŋu can often be translated as English relative clauses:

yu:l-ŋu ŋuki + ɖi + nu + ŋay ɖi:na-Ø-ŋu , ...  
*person that now 3Sg sit-Pres-Sub*  
*the person who is sitting there...*

(Disregard the -ŋu of yu:l-ŋu.)

However, -ŋu is much more than just a relative clause marker. It can be used in subordinated *where* clauses:

buɾam-ɖu + ña + ŋay baɣa-na-ŋu ŋuŋ?-ŋiɾi + ɖi  
*wasp-Erg 3SgAcc 3Sg sting-Past-Sub there*  
  
 ba:ri + ña + ŋay wut-ɖu-na  
*maybe 3SgAcc 3Sg hit-Them-Past*  
*Maybe he<sub>i</sub> hit him<sub>j</sub> right where the paper wasp had stung him<sub>j</sub>.*

A more general *it being the case that...* sense, often translatable into English as a gerundial with -ing is also common:



wa:ni-na-ŋu + ra bangul?  
 go-Past-Sub 1Sg return  
*Having gone, I returned.*

Here bangul? is a root form (7.24) representing the simplification of a clause bangul?-yu-na + ra *I returned*.

As noted in 9.22, clauses with Associative -puy added to an inflected verb appear to be semantically similar to clauses with -ŋu, though the type with -puy is far less common. If we are to regard these two construction types as relative clauses, then the latter concept will have to be extended from its rather narrow definition in English syntax. It is possible to regard the *where* clause exemplified above as a relative clause only if we posit a covert dummy locative element, so that *where the paper wasp had stung him* has a deeper representation something like *(at) the point where the paper wasp had stung him*. It is even more difficult to regard *Having gone, I returned* exemplified above as a relative construction, though I suppose it could be done if we posit a dummy element such as *(in) the situation* in the main clause and take *Having gone* (wa:ni-na-ŋu) as a relative clause appended to this.

Although Ritharngu constructions with -ŋu (and -puy) are more general than English relatives, they are not as general as 'relative' constructions in certain other Aboriginal languages, which can be translated into English in many ways including relative clauses, *where* clauses, purposives, temporal adverbials, etc. In particular, constructions with -ŋu are not used as purposives or as true temporal adverbials. See Hale (1976).

#### 9.24 Conjunction

There is a conjunction *ga and* which can link two constituents of the same constituent class, but it is extremely uncommon in this language: ba:pa-ŋ? ga ŋa:ŋdi-ŋ? *my father and my mother*. Usually the two constituents are simply juxtaposed, perhaps with a slight pause in between: ba:pa-ŋ?, ŋa:ŋdi-ŋ?.

When a noun (full NP) is conjoined to a personal pronoun, what usually happens is that the appropriate nonsingular (joint) pronoun is used, with the noun then added in 'apposition'. Thus we get this kind of example:

wa:ni-na + liñu      ba:pa-ŋ?  
 go-Past      we(DuEx) father-my  
*My father and I went.*

Note that *ba:pa-ŋ?* is, strictly speaking, in apposition only to one of the referents of *liñu* *he and I*. For a similar example see Text 25.2 (*yaku + ya + liñu waŋa-ŋa-mi-ri, balanda + ya*).

#### 9.25. The Syntax of *wa:ni-* *to go*

The verb *wa:ni-*, in the appropriate inflected form, is frequently added at the end of a clause in a sense which is difficult to pin down but is clearly distinct in many cases from its normal meaning *to go*.

For example, in Text 29.2 we find this:

*ŋu:ra-Ø + maŋda wa:ni-Ø*  
*sleep-Pr they(Du) go-Pr*  
*They sleep.*

Although one could conceivably interpret this as *They went and slept*, this is not fully appropriate in the context (and is totally inappropriate in some other examples), and what *wa:ni-* really seems to be doing here is indicating duration: *They slept for a good while; They kept sleeping*. This is only an approximation to the sense, but is probably on the right track.

This construction is not found in languages to the south, but does occur in other Yuulngu languages such as *Duwal*, where the verb in question is *marči-* *to go*. (*Ritharngu* seems to be the only Yuulngu language where *to go* takes the form *wa:ni-*, so the parallel structures may reflect areal convergence rather than shared inheritance of a proto-pattern.)

The inflectional form of *wa:ni-* is normally identical to the form taken by the other verb. This use of *wa:ni-* does not occur in equational (nonverbal) clauses.



## RITHARNGU TEXTS

### Introduction

The following texts represent almost all of the nonsecret texts which I obtained in this language. The narrators are:

Willy (Munuma), a fairly old man who is the ceremonial and political leader of the *mala-barčaray* (the Ritharngu-speaking division of the *Maɟarpa maɟa*). Texts 1-3 were collected in the 1973-74 session, texts 24-41 in 1976. His speech is extremely rapid and not always easy to transcribe accurately (this is especially true of unstressed elements such as enclitics).

Ruby, a very old woman of the *Wa:gilak maɟa*, and mother of Willy. Texts from this speaker were recorded in a group of people, some of whom prompted Ruby with vocabulary and suggestions for how to present the anecdotes.

Galcina, a fairly old woman of the *Riɟarŋu* (*Biɟiŋal*) *maɟa*, married for many years to Wuyulwuy, a man of the *Duwal* language group.

Woodcutter, an old man of the *Wa:gilak maɟa*, a bachelor.

The texts are presented with the Ritharngu text on top, the inter-linear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses underneath. English prose translations are given at intervals in the longer texts (which are thus arbitrarily divided into sections, purely for ease of cross-referencing and not to underline inherent narrative divisions), and at the end of shorter texts (which have no subdivisions). Morpheme-by-morpheme glosses should be self-explanatory, with the help of the list of abbreviations at the end of the volume. Hyphens in the inter-linear glosses correspond to hyphens in the Ritharngu transcription; if there are no hyphens in the interlinear it glosses the entire Ritharngu word. Glosses of lexical items in the interlinear may be simplified; readers can sometimes get more detailed information about lexical semantics from the dictionary.





## Text 3 (Ruby)

## COOKING KANGAROOS

jamba| + ɲanapu ɲanapa-ɾa , gurɿa + napu bayaw?-wu-na ,  
 oven we(PlEx) make fire-Pa fire(wood) we collect-Them-Pa  
 gu:ɿa-na + napu , wiɭaŋ?-gu-na + napu , ɭuka-ŋa + ɲanapu ,  
 roast-Pa take from fire-Them-Pa eat-Pa  
 ja:ča + ya ɭar?ɭar-na + napu ɭuka-na , ja:ča + ya , wa:ŋa-li? + napu  
 kangaroo cut up-Pa eat-Pa camp-All  
 guruka-wala + nu yu:l-wač-gu + ya .  
 carry-Pa person-Pl-Dat

*We built up an oven (with stones, in the ground). We collected firewood ('fire'). We roasted it (a kangaroo carcass). We took it out (from the oven). We ate it. The kangaroo, we cut it up and ate it, the kangaroo. We carried it (on our shoulders) to the camp then, for the (other) people.*

COMMENTS: This narrator, an old woman of the Wa:gilak maɿa, did not consistently reduce ɲanapu we(PlEx) to napu in enclitic position, so both ɲanapu and napu can be found here. In ja:ča + ya ɭar?ɭar-na + napu ɭuka-ŋa we notice that ja:ča + ya was not treated as the first constituent of the clause for purposes of locating the pronominal enclitic napu. Therefore, although no clear pause was heard after ja:ča + ya, I take the latter as an isolation form, like the following occurrence of ja:ča + ya a few words later. The verbs ɭar?ɭar-na and ɭuka-ŋa have been combined into one clause, so there is only one occurrence of pronominal napu. Usually when this happens the second verb shows up in the root form, but ɭuka- belongs to a verb class which lacks this formation, so a fully-inflected, tense-specified form was used. In the final clause yu:l-wač-gu + ya might have been anticipated by a cross-referencing Dative pronominal enclitic (wa:ŋa-li? + ɰali-ŋu + napu...), but this was omitted as is occasionally the case.

## Text 4 (Ruby)

## MAKING DILLYBAGS

garam , buyu?-yu-na + ɲanapu , buyu?-yu-na + ɲanapu garam + ja ,  
 string make string-Them-Pa we(PlEx)  
 maɭga + nu + napu darpu-ŋa , maɭga , garam-ɰu ɲuŋu-n?-ɰu +  
 dillybag weave-Pa string-Inst that-Aug-Inst



gi + ya buyu?-yu-na + nanapu

*String, we used to make it. We used to make string (by twisting bark fibres together). Dillybags are what we weaved, dillybags, by means of that string, we used to make (string).*

COMMENTS: The NP garam-gu and its appositive nuqu-n?-gu + gi + ya belong with the verb garpu-na rather than with the final buyu?-yu-na, despite the punctuation, because the Instrumental case makes no sense with buyu?-yu-na.

#### Text 5 (Ruby)

#### CATCHING FISH

- 1) guya, jibuk-u-na + nanapu , ma:ra-na + napu guya + ya ,  
     *fish catch-Them-Pa we(PlEx) get-Pa we*  
 jibuk-u-na + napu wurga?-yu-na + napu , guya + ya , baypinnga + ya ,  
     *throw-Them-Pa Saratoga fish*  
 wa:na-li? + nu + napu ga:-na luka-na + nu + napu ,  
     *camp-All now carry-Pa eat-Pa now*

*Fish, we caught them. We got some fish. We caught them and threw them (onto the shore), the fish, the Saratoga fish (Scleropages jardini). We took them to the camp then and ate them then.*

- 2) guda!?-na + nu baypinnga ya , baypinnga , guda!? + napu , luka-na +  
     *roast-Pa now Saratoga roast we eat-Pa*  
 nu + napu guya + ya , yu:l-wač-gu + nu + napu gurupa-laŋa nuki +  
     *now we fish person-Pl-Dat now give-Pa that*  
 gi + ya guya + ya baypinnga + ya , jiwuk-u-na-nu + nanapu ,  
     *fish Saratoga catch-Them-Pa-Sub we*

*We 'roasted' (cooked in oven) the Saratoga fish, Saratoga fish, we roasted it. Then we ate the fish, then we gave that fish, the Saratoga, to the (other) people, the ones (the fish) which we caught.*

- 3) maɬbuna , baypinnga , jiwuk-u-na + napu wurga?-yu-na +  
     *black bream Saratoga catch-Them-Pa we throw-Them-Pa*  
 nanapu , wa:na-li? + nu + napu ɾay-baŋgu!?-na guda!?-na + nu ,  
     *we camp-All now with-return-Pa roast-Pa now*

gu:ʔa-na jamba| + ya + napu ʔanapa-ʔa , guya-guya .  
 roast-Pa oven we build fire-Pa Rdp-fish

*Black bream and Saratoga fish, we caught them and we threw them (onto the shore). We took them back ('went back with them') to the camp and 'roasted' them (in an oven). We 'roasted' them, we built an oven.*

COMMENTS: Note the variation between jibuk-u- and lenited jiwuk-u- to catch (fish). In 5.2 (part 2 of Text 5) the first clause shows irregular omissions of the subject-marking pronominal (unless I misheard napu we as nu now). This might be explained by considering guʔa|ʔ-na + nu as belonging with |uka-ʔa + nu + napu at the end of 5.1, in which case repetition of the subject-marker is not obligatory. Note the root form guʔa|ʔ in the second clause in 5.2. Shortly thereafter we find gurupa-laʔa gave with uncommon Past allomorph -laʔa; the common form is gurupa-ʔa. There is a nice relative clause at the end of 5.2. In 5.3 ʔay-bangu|ʔ- illustrates the transitive derivative in ʔay- or yay-, adding a transported object to an intransitive verb of motion. Here ʔay-bangu|ʔ-na and guʔa|ʔ-na are combined into a single clause, and require only one occurrence of subject-marker napu we in the enclitic complex. In the following clause it appears that napu we occurs after the second constituent, not the first as expected. However, it would seem that jamba| + ya really is the beginning of a new clause, since it is linked semantically with ʔanapa-ʔa and acts grammatically as its direct object; it would have to be in the Instrumental case if it were linked with gu:ʔa-na. Thus gu:ʔa-na should be taken as belonging to the preceding clause with its synonym guʔa|ʔ-na, or perhaps as a false start (i.e. the beginning of an uncompleted new clause). The text ends with guya-guya, showing the Multiple reduplication which is possible only for a few noun stems; it is rather common with this particular stem.

## Text 6 (Ruby)

## POISONING FISH

ʔilt-ʔu-na-puy , ʔangi? , ʔangi? + napu ʔilt-ʔu-na ,  
 poison-Them-Pa-about billygoat plum we(PlEx) poison-Them-Pa  
 guya-guya ʔu-nʔ-gu + ʔi + ya ʔilt-ʔu-na + napu , guya + ya ,  
 Rdp-fish that-Aug-Dat fish  
 guyupa-na + nu + ʔay guya + ya ʔuki + ʔi + ya , bu-ʔa + nu + napu ,  
 die-Pa now it fish that kill-Pa now we

wa:ŋa-li? + napu + ña ga:-wala guḍa!?-na + napu guya .  
 camp-All we it carry-Pa roast-Pa we fish

(I will talk) about poisoning fish. Billygoat plum tree (Planchonia careya). We poisoned fish by swishing (branches of) billygoat plum tree (in a billabong; this stuns the fish, which float to the surface). We poisoned all those fish. The fish, those fish became unconscious ('died') then. We killed them then. We carried the fish to the camp and we 'roasted' (cooked in oven) the fish.

COMMENTS: The text begins with ḍilt-ḍu-na-puy, where -na- is probably the Past suffix but could also be taken as Nominaliser -Na-. This form with -puy serves as a 'title' for the text; a similar form occurs at the beginning of Text 8. The verb ḍilt-ḍu- refers to the act of swishing branches of billygoat plum or certain other trees in billabongs to stun fish; the tree is the direct object. In guya-guya ḡu-n?-gu + ḡi + ya ḍilt-ḍu-na + napu it appears that ḡu-n?-gu, reduced from ḡuḡu-n?-gu, is in apposition to guya-guya, which may be considered an isolation form since it lacks the Dative suffix. This clause is rather obscure structurally, e.g. with respect to the placement of the subject-marker napu, and it is likely that a different structure would have occurred in more careful speech. In wa:ŋa-li? + napu + ña note the order subject-marker before object-marker; this is possible only when the object-marker is third singular ña (full form ḡi-ña), and even then is less common than the order with object-marker first (wa:ŋa-li? + ña + napu...). Note also that a nonzero third person object-marker is used for *fish*, which is ordinarily treated as 'lower' animate and therefore does not get an overt cross-referencing object-marker; cf. the following clause guḍa!?-na + napu guya (not \*guḍa!?-na + ña + napu or \*guḍa!?-na + napu + ña guya).

#### Text 7 (Ruby)

#### COLLECTING THE FISH

gaṭa-ra + napu gu:ŋ-ḡu + ya ŋa:m?-bu-na-li? + ya ,  
 grab-Pa we(PlEx) hand-Inst be stunned-Them-Nom-All  
 wurḡa? + napu + ña ḡapa-li? , gu:ŋ-ḡu + ya + ḡanapu gaṭa-lara-ḡu  
 throw we it top-All we grab-Pa-Sub  
 guya + ya ḡuki + ya .  
 fish that

*(After we poison the fish) we grabbed them with our hands as soon as they were stunned. We threw them onto the top (i.e. onto the bank of the billabong), those fish which we had grabbed with our hands.*

COMMENTS: The chief interest of this text is the use of Allative -li? in the subordinated clause ɲa:m?-bu-na-li?, in the sense *when, as soon as*.

## Text 8 (Ruby)

## MAKING DAMS TO CATCH FISH

ɠa!?-yu-na-puy , ɠaŋɠa?-yu-na-ŋu + napu , ɠa!?-yu-na-ŋu +  
*Block-Them-Pa-about trap-Them-Pa-Sub we(PlEx) block-Them-Pa-Sub*  
 napu , guya-wuya , ga:-ŋa + napu + ña ɠa!?-yu-na-ŋu + napu yu? ,  
*we Rdp-fish carry-Pa we it block-Them-Pa-Sub we indeed*  
 mulmu-y + napu + ña mulmu-ɠu ɠa!?-yu-na + ya , guya + ya .  
*grass-Inst we it grass-Inst block-Them-Pa fish*

*(I will talk) about blocking (fish, by constructing dam-like traps made of grass and sticks). Having trapped (fish), having blocked off all the fish, we took away the ones we blocked off. We blocked off the fish by means of grass.*

COMMENTS: The particle yu? is always pronounced with high stress and rising intonation, and is always followed by a pause. It is difficult to translate in contexts like this, and can merely add an emphatic or asseverative note. The subordinated clauses in -ŋu in this text can be translated either as relative clauses or as gerundials (*having trapped...*); in my translation I have used both English construction types. In the final part of the text Ruby began by using Instrumental allomorph -y after mulmu-, which is acceptable, but then repeated the NP with allomorph -ɠu, the other possibility after a vowel; apparently she regarded -ɠu as an improvement.

## Text 9 (Ruby)

## GETTING HONEY

guku , ɠupu-ŋa + napu garawa-la + ya "yakuy + ɲay  
*honey look up-Pa we(PlEx) upward this it*  
 ɠari?-ɠari:::-Ø " , ɲali?-yu-na + napu , ɲurk !uka-na + nu + napu  
*Rdp-go in-Pr go up-Them-Pa we fall eat-Pa now we*

bar?bar-maṛa-ṇa + nu + napu , guku + ya , mapa-na mariṇ-li? .  
*split-Caus-Pa now we honey put in-Pa basket-All*

*Honey. We looked upwards (into the trees). "Here they are, going in (to the hive)." We went up (and chopped the tree). It fell, then we ate it (the honey). We split it (the wood) then. The honey, we put it into a watertight pandanus basket.*

COMMENTS: Note the use of demonstrative pronoun yakuy instead of the adverb yaṇ?-ṇaṛa *here* in the present positive *to be here* construction. The root form ṇurk a little later functions as a reduced clause of its own, and is not treated as part of the clause !uka-ṇa + nu + napu despite the fact that no pause separates the two; this can be seen by observing the location of napu after !uka-ṇa + nu, not directly after ṇurk. In the final clause Ruby has omitted the subject-marking pronominal enclitic. An example of stylistic lengthening is gari?-gari:::-Ø.

## Text 10 (Ruby)

## EATING HONEY

!uka-ṇa + napu , ma:ṭ-ḡu + napu !uka-ṇa + ya , guku + ya  
*eat-Pa we(PlEx) stick-Inst we eat-Pa honey*  
 ma:ṭ-ḡu + napu !uka-ṇa + ya , ba!gur-ḡu + napu !uka-ṇa + ya  
*stick-Inst we eat-Pa kurrajong-Inst we eat-Pa*  
 ma:ṭ + ja guku + ya ṇuki + ḡi + ya .  
*stick honey that*

*We ate it (honey), we ate it with a stick with one frayed end.  
 We ate it with (a stick from) kurrajong tree (Brachychiton paradoxum),  
 stick with one frayed end, that honey.*

COMMENTS: ma:ṭ designates only a stick of this type used for eating honey; the frayed end is dipped into the honey, then chewed. The first guku + ya is an isolation form, not part of the following clause formally.

## Text 11 (Ruby)

## MAKING HUMPIES

ɲaɖan jaŋ?-gu-na + ɲanapu ɖaw?-wu-na + napu , ɲaɖan + ja ,  
*humpy make-Them-Pa we(PlEx) strip off-Them-Pa we humpy*  
 ɖaw?-wu-na + napu gari-ña + napu , jaŋ?-gu-na + napu ɲaɖan  
*strip-Them-Pa we enter-Pa we make-Them-Pa we humpy*  
 + ja wirki , gari-na + nu + muka + lima ɲu:r-ɲana + nu  
*enter-Pa now indeed we(PlIn) sleep-Pa now*  
 + lima , gulk-u-na + nu + napu ɖarpa , ɲaɖan-gu ,  
*we cut down-Them-Pa we(PlEx) tree humpy-Dat*  
 bu:ʃa-ɲa + nu + napu wa:ɲa + ya .  
*make-Pa now we camp*

*We made humpies. We stripped it off (from the stringybark tree, gaɖayka?), the humpy. We stripped it off, we went into it. We made humpies. We went into them, we went to sleep then. We cut down the trees, for humpies. We made a camp then.*

COMMENTS: At the beginning ɲaɖan is to be taken as an isolation form not formally part of the clause with jaŋ?-gu-na. The stem ɲaɖan means *stringybark* (bark only) as well as *humpy made from stringybark*, and the second occurrence of ɲaɖan here is probably in the former sense as object of *to strip off*. Note the variation between gari-ña and gari-na *went in* with alternative Past allomorphs. The particle wirki, which can mean *a lot*, is here used as an untranslatable element with very low stress and intonation, following high stress and tone on the preceding word. In the following clause Ruby unexpectedly switched from 1PlEx to 1PlIn pronouns. I think this was due to carelessness, although since several of her relatives were present during the recording she may merely have switched from speaking to the linguist and the tape recorder to speaking to the relatives; she later switched back to the 1PlEx. Note finally the Pa allomorph -ɲana in ɲu:r-ɲana *went to sleep*, here apparently in punctual sense (hence not *were sleeping; remained*).

## Text 12 (Ruby)

## BURYING THE DEAD

gawuk-u-na + napu , guyupa-na-ɲu + ɖali gabuk-u-na + napu  
*bury-Them-Pa we(PlEx) die-Pa-Sub they bury-Them-Pa we*

julka-li? , gawuk-u-na , gawuk-u-na + napu + ña , julka-li? ,  
 ground-All bury-Them-Pa bury-Them-Pa we him ground-All  
 bi:la-wala + napu + ña , bi:la-wala + napu:: wurda?-yu-na  
 dig-Pa we him dig-Pa we throw-Them-Pa  
 julka-li? , gawuk-u-na + nu .  
 ground-All bury-Them-Pa now

*We buried (them). When they (i.e. someone) died, we buried (them) in the ground. (We) buried (them). We buried him (the dead man), in the ground. We dug (for) him, we dug and threw (him) into the ground, (we) buried (him) now.*

COMMENTS: In this text Ruby was rather careless in omitting several subject- and object-marking pronominals which would have been added in more careful speech. On the other hand, in bi:la-wala + napu + ña it appears that the Accusative pronominal ña is inappropriate, since the dead man is not the direct object of *to dig*; note the correction bi:la-wala + napu:: in the next clause. Note again the use of Allative -li? where English would normally use Locative *on*. Note also the fluctuation between gabuk-u- and lenited gawuk-u- *to bury*. The subordinated clause with guyupa-na-ŋu can be translated as a relative clause (*we buried the ones who died*) as well as a temporal clause (*when they died, we buried them*).

## Text 13 (Ruby)

## DISINTERRING THE CORPSE

gu|a? + ya , |u|awk-u-n-ŋu + ŋay , war?war-u-n + napu  
 skin skin up-Them-Pr-Sub he remove-Them-Pr we(PlEx)  
 + ña , ma:ra-ma ŋaŋaka + ya , dupun-li? + nu mapa-n ,  
 him get-Pr bone hollow tree-All now put in-Pr  
 dupun-li? .  
 hollow tree-All

*Skin. When he (the corpse) 'skins up' (loses its skin through decomposition), we remove him (from the grave). (We) get the bones. (We) put them in a hollow tree, in a hollow tree.*

COMMENTS: Again Ruby omits subject-marking pronominals in the final clauses.



## Text 14 (Ruby)

## CYCADS

ɖalʔ-yu-n + ja + napu ɲaʔu + ya:: , jurʔ-ma-ŋ gapu-liʔ ,  
*crack-Them-Pr we(PlEx) cycad soak-Caus-Pr water-All*  
 ɲu:kaʔ + ya + napu baʔ yaragaʔ-yu-n + ja + napu , baʔa-n + napu  
*stone we grab grind-Them-Pr we cook-Pr we*  
 guɽʔa-liʔ + ya ʔuka-Ø + nu + napu ɲaʔu + ya .  
*fire-All eat-Pr now we cycad*

*We crack open (nuts of) cycad palms (Cycas ?media). (We) soak them in water. We get a stone and grind them up. We cook them on an open fire, then we eat the cycads.*

COMMENTS: The subject-marker is omitted in jurʔ-ma-ŋ gapu-liʔ.

## Text 15 (Ruby)

## MAKING A CANOE

jat-ɖu-n + ja + ɖali , ɲurk + nu , jark-u-n + ɖali  
*chop down-Them-Pr they fall cut out-Them-Pr they*  
 wa:ni:::-Ø , baʔa-n + ɖali guɽʔa-liʔ + ya , juʔur-ma-ŋ +  
*go-Pr burn-Pr they fire-All go in water-Caus-Pr*  
 ɖali gapu-liʔ + ya , ɲurkiñʔ-ju-n + nu + ɖali ɲuki + ya  
*they water-All paddle-Them-Pr now they that*  
canoe + ya , ɖu:bal , canoe + ya .  
*leichhardt tree*

*They cut down a tree, (it) falls now. They cut out (the 'belly' of the canoe) and go. They burn it in a fire. They put it in the water. They paddle along, (in) that canoe. Leichhardt tree (Nauclea coadunata), canoe.*

## Text 16 (Gałčina)

## FIGHTING OVER A WOMAN

1) ɲaʔa-ɲaʔa + ña + ɲay ma:-na + ya marambaʔ + ya miyalk-ɲa + ya ,  
*food-Loc her he take-Pa elopement girl-Acc*  
 ma:-na + ña + ɲay ɲay + ya bi:la-ɲa ganguɽi + ɲa bi:la-ɲa + ya ,  
*take-Pa her he she dig-Pa long yam she dig-Pa*  
 ganguɽi , ganguɽi + ɲa bi:la-ɲa + ya , yuʔuʔ-u-na + ña + ɲa  
*long yam sneak up-Them-Pa her he*

wa:ni-ña baṭ + ña + ḡay ma:-na miyalk-ḡa + ya , bala + ña  
 go-Pa grab her he take-Pa girl-Acc that way her  
 + ḡay jaw?-wu-na ,  
 he take away-Them-Pa

*He took a girl away for an affair (when she was) at the food (area). He took her away, she was digging up long yams (Dioscorea sp.), she was digging up long yams, she was digging up long yams. He sneaked up to her and grabbed her, he took the girl. He took her away that way.*

2) ḡali + ya ḡaṇuñ ga:-wala + ya , !akaṛa-ḡa-mi-na + nu + ḡali ,  
 they story carry-Pa tell-Aug-Recip-Pa now they  
 " maramba? + ña + ḡay ma:-na ḡiṇ?-ḡa napulu-ḡu ", yaku?-yu-na  
 elopement her he take-Pa woman-Acc we(PlEx)-Gen say-Them-Pa  
 + nu ḡaramu + ya , " ḡiṇ?-ḡa + ya + ña + ḡay jaw?-wu-na +  
 now man woman-Acc her he take away-Them-Pa  
 nu ", ḡali + ya ḡaṇuñ ga:-ḡa-mi-na + nu !akaṛa-wala + nu +  
 now they story carry-Aug-Recip-Pa now tell-Pa now  
 ña + ḡali ,  
 him they

*As for them (the other women who were collecting food in the area), they carried the story (back to the others). They told each other. "He took our woman away for an affair", a man said. "He has taken away the woman." As for them (the others), they carried (the story) to each other then, they told him (the proper husband) then.*

3) barč-u-n-mi-na + nu + ḡali::: ḡiṭ +  
 throw spears-Them-Aug-Recip-Pa now they spear(verb)  
 ña + ḡa !a-na ḡuki + ya ḡiṇ?-ḡu + ya -- ḡawu-y  
 him he spear-Pa that woman-Erg what's it?-Erg  
 ḡaramu-y + ya , miyalk-gala + ya ḡuṇi-n?-gala + ḡi + ya ,  
 man-Erg girl-LocIncr that-Aug-LocIncr  
 ḡiku + nu + ḡay ḡu:ra-ḡa gabuk-u-na + nu + ña + ḡali , julka-li?  
 dead now he lie-Pa bury-Them-Pa now him they ground-All  
 + ña + ḡali gabuk-u-na + ya , murṇiñ-ḡu + ña + ḡay !a-na + ya .  
 him they bury-Them-Pa shovel spear-Inst him he spear-Pa

*They (the proper husband, the culprit, and perhaps some relatives of each) threw spears at each other then. He (the husband) speared him (the culprit), that woman (Ergative) - (or rather,) that man (did), concerning that girl. He (the culprit) lay dead, they buried him then. They buried him in the ground, he speared him with a shovel spear.*

COMMENTS: This narrator, a Riṭarṇu (Biḍiṇal) woman, tended to reduce third singular pronominal ṇay to ṇa, as did certain other informants. At the beginning of 16.1, note the use of Locative -ṇaṛa instead of Pergressive -kuru?; certain other languages in the area such as Nunggubuyu tend to use the Pergressive in senses like *around, in the vicinity of*. The word maramba? is formally a noun, but is used as a sort of adverb referring to elopement, running away with a woman for an affair in the bush, etc.; it commonly co-occurs with a verb like ma:ra- (ma:-) *to take, to get*. In ma:-na + ña + ṇay ṇay + ya bi:la-ṇa..., ṇay + ya shows enclitic ya in its contrastive emphatic function, emphasising that the ṇay here is not coreferential to the subject ṇay of the preceding clause ma:-na + ña + ṇay. Other examples of this use of ya in this text are ḡali + ya twice in 16.2.

The noun ganguṛi *long yam* was pronounced by Gaḷčina without final glottal stop; other speakers pronounced it as ganguṛi?. Since Gaḷčina for many years had been married to Wuyulwuy, an old man of the Marakulu maṭa (Ḍuwal language group), whose dialect generally lacks final glottals, it is possible that Gaḷčina was using a non-Riṭharṇu pronunciation of this word here. In baṭ + ña + ṇay ma:-na, near the end of 16.1, ma:ra- (ma:-) co-occurs with its suppletive root form baṭ. A similar instance is the combination of !a- *to spear* with its suppletive root form giṭ in 16.3.

In yaku?-yu-na + nu ḡaramu + ya in 16.2, the subject-marking pronominal cross-referencing ḡaramu *man* has been omitted. In !akaṛa-wala + nu ña + ḡali *they told him* note that *him* is Accusative ña rather than Dative ṇan-ṇu; this case-frame is possible only when the direct object (e.g. *story, word*) is not explicitly mentioned. In !akaṛa-ṇa-mi-na *told each other* at the beginning of 16.2, the Reciprocal formation is based on the coreferentiality of the underlying subject and indirect (not direct) object. We could explain this away by suggesting that this is another case where the indirect object is treated as direct object (i.e. as an Accusative NP), but in view of ga:-ṇa-mi-na *carried to each other* later on, where the coreferentiality clearly involves the indirect rather than direct object, we still have to recognise that Reciprocals can be formed on the basis of

NP-coreferentiality not involving the direct object.

In 16.3 the expression *ɲuki + ya ɖiŋ?-ɖu + ya* is interesting inasmuch as it appears that *ɲuki* is in apposition to *ɖiŋ?-ɖu* and yet omits the case suffix (Ergative) attached to the latter. However, perhaps *ɲuki* refers to the man who is speared, in which case we wonder why it is not Accusative *ɲuki-n?-na*. The noun *ɖiŋ?-ɖu* was an error, and was quickly corrected to *ɖaramu-y man*(Ergative) after Gaḷčina briefly fumbled around for this word (hence *ɲawu-y what's it?*-Ergative). Gaḷčina further cleared up her error by adding *miyalk-gala*, showing the correct case relation of *miyalk girl* (here coreferential to *ɖiŋ? woman*). The Locative Increment *-gala* is used here in the general sense *concerning, with regard to*. Shortly thereafter note *ɖiku* in its secondary (but common) sense *dead, unconscious* rather than the primary sense *raw, unripe*.

## Text 17 (Gaḷčina)

## A NEW SETTLEMENT

baḷma-ɲaɾa + napulu-ɲu    house + ja + ɲa ɖa:r-i , bu:ča-wu +  
 pl.n.-Loc    we(PlEx)-Gen    it stand-Fut make-Fut

napulu-ɲu + ɖali house + ja + ɲa    ɖa:r-i    ɲum-bili + ɖi baḷma-li? ,  
 we-Dat    they    it    stand-Fut that way    pl.n.-All

waɾk-u-ru    + ya + ɖali , ɖali ɾulɕa-wu ,    waɾk-u-ru    + ɖali  
 work-Them-Fut    they    they put down-Fut work-Them-Fut    they

house + nu + ɖali bu:ča-wu + napulu-ɲu , ɖa:r-i + nu + ɲay  
           now    they make-Fut    we-Dat    stand-Fut    now    it

baḷma-ɲaɾa , baḷma wa:ɲa + ya ɖu:wa    ɖali-ɲu , ɲanapu ɲuŋ?-ɲiɾi  
 pl.n.-Loc    pl.n. place    moiety name they-Gen we    there

+ ɖi + nu ɖu:wa-ɲaɾa    ɲu:r-i    ya .  
           name of moiety-Loc sleep-Fut

*At Baḷma (a place), our house will stand. They will build it for us, the house will stand toward that direction, to Baḷma. They will work, they will put it down and work, they will build the house for us. It will stand then at Baḷma. Baḷma, ɖu:wa (of the ɖu:wa moiety), theirs. We will stay ('sleep') at the same place, in ɖu:wa (country).*

COMMENTS: In some languages of the area the Locative suffix is rarely or never added to a place name, but *baḷma-ɲaɾa* at the beginning of this text shows this to be untrue of Ritharngu. In the first clause,

ba|ma-ŋaŋa is an isolation form, so that the Genitive phrase napulu-ŋu house + ja functions as the initial constituent of the following clause; nevertheless, the presence of ba|ma-ŋaŋa permits the following Genitive pronoun (ŋa)napulu-ŋu to occur in its enclitic form napulu-ŋu. Note that a Genitive pronoun and the noun it modifies are not treated as two distinct surface constituents. The expression ŋum-bili + ɣi ba|ma-li? illustrates the characteristic use of a demonstrative adverb as a sort of 'article' with a more specific nominal expression in Locative, Ablative, or other spatial case. Cf. also ŋuŋ?-ŋiri + ɣi + nu alongside ɣu:wa-ŋaŋa at the end of the text. The forms ŋum-bili and ŋuŋ?-ŋiri in these examples also show the vocalic shifts mentioned in (2.9) in the grammar (cf. simple ŋum-bala, ŋuŋ?-ŋaŋa), triggered by the enclitic ɣi.

The place Ba|ma apparently belongs to one of the ɣu:wa maŋa's in the Duwal language group, to which Ga|čina's husband Wuyulwuy belongs. Since Ga|čina belongs to the other moiety, yiriča, the expression ɣali-ŋu *theirs* means in this context *belonging to that other moiety* (ɣu:wa).

## Text 18 (Woodcutter)

## CATCHING POSSUMS

ɣupun-ŋaŋa + ŋay gari-Ø miŋiwiri? + ya , bu-maŋa + ya + ɣali ,  
*hollow tree-Loc it enter-Pr possum kill-Pa they*

bu-ŋa + ya + napu , ŋa:ɣili + ya , bu-maŋa + ya + bili + ɣali  
*kill-Pa we(PlEx) before kill-Pa they*

jaɣa-yu-na + nu , jaɣa-yu-na + ya + ɣali::: , maŋmak ,  
*use firestick-Them-Pa they all right*

bu:ʔ-yu-na + ɣali ɣungu!ʔ + nu , baɣa-na + ya + ɣali bulka?  
*blow-Them-Pa they light(verb) cook-Pa they fur*

baɣa-na + ya ɣali |irma? + nu , |irmaʔ-yu-na + nu  
*cook-Pa they cook in sand cook in sand-Them-Pa now*

+ ɣali , bili + ɣali |urguʔ-yu-na + nu wa:čimʔ-bu-na ya + ɣali ,  
*they they wash-Them-Pa wash-Them-Pa they*

gilinbala + nu , bili + ɣali mit-ɣu-na + nu |uka-ŋa + nu  
*clean(noun) now they cut up-Them-Pa now eat-Pa now*

+ ɣali .  
*they*

*The possum goes in, in a hollow tree. They used to kill them (possums). We killed them, before (in the old days). They killed them, then they made sparks with firesticks. They made sparks with firesticks, good! (i.e. a good spark resulted). They blew (on the grass where the spark had been put), and lit (the fire). They burned the fur (to seal the skin), then they cooked it, they cooked it covered in sand. They cooked it in the sand then. Then they washed it off, they cleaned it. It was clean then. Then they cut it up and they ate it.*

COMMENTS: The text begins with *ɖupun-ŋaɾa* with Locative *-ŋaɾa*; it is normal in Ritharngu to use Allative *-li?* in this sort of context. The expression *mañmak all right*, which expressed satisfaction, is common in Aboriginal languages and Pidgin English in the area. The root form *ɖungu!*? probably represents Causative *ɖungu!*?-(*yu-n-*)*maɾa-ŋa* *lit it, set fire to it* rather than simple intransitive *ɖungu!*?-(*yu-*)*na* *caught fire*. The verb *baɣa-* means *to burn* or *to cook on an open fire*; at least in its first occurrence here it has the special meaning *to scorch the fur of*, which is usually expressed by the compound *buypi-baɣa-* (cf. Text 21). The verb *wa:ɕim?-bu-* *to wash* is a loan from Pidgin English *waɕim* (*wash 'em*). Similarly, *gilinbala* is a Pidgin word (*clean fella*). The particle *bili*, used as an enclitic in *bu-maɾa + ya + bili + ɖali* and as a clause-introducer in later occurrences (functioning as a constituent and thus followed directly by pronominal enclitics), seems to mean *and then* or the like here, but its exact sense is unclear. *Possum* is here treated as a 'lower' animate noun and is thus not cross-referenced by nonzero pronominal enclitics except when functioning as subject.

## Text 19 (Woodcutter)

## KILLING KANGAROOS

- 1) *ɖali + ra-ku waŋ?-ɖu-na , ɖilkuru-ŋu + ya , waŋ?-ɖu-na + ra-ku ,*  
*they I-Dat look-Them-Pa big look-Them-Pa I-Dat*
- ŋara-pi + ɖali-ŋu ɾay-baŋgu!?-na + nu ja:ɕa , murpungu!a*  
*I-Emph they-Dat with-return-Pa now kangaroo euro*
- bamjirwi? , wa:ŋa-ŋaɾa guruka-ŋa ɖali-ŋu + ra wa:ni-Ø + ya*  
*female euro camp-Loc carry-Pa they-Dat I go-Pr*
- wurkumuŋ , !uka-ŋa + ra-kuŋu + ɖali ɖilkuru-ŋu-y , old people + ya .*  
*cooked eat-Pa I-Orig they big -Erg*

*They watched for me. The big (people), they watched for me. I came back them with a kangaroo for them, a (male) euro or a female euro (Macropus robustus, a large hill kangaroo). I carried it on my shoulders, already cooked, in the camp for them. The big (people), the old people, ate it from (provided by) me.*

2) !uka-na + ɢali , nu:ra-na jaɗaw?-wu-na , bulu + ɳara  
eat-Pa they sleep-Pa be daylight-Them-Pa again I  
wa:ni-ña , find 'em?-bu-na + ña + ra , !a-na + ra , wa:ni-na + ra  
go-Pa find-Them-Pa it I spear-Pa I go-Pa I  
shade , !akiriŋ?-ɳara ŋi:na-na guñul-ɳara , jamba! + ra mur-maɳa-na  
this kind-Loc sit-Pa shade-Loc oven I light-Caus-Pa  
guɽɽa , jamba! + ra mur-maɳa-na guɽɽa , gaja? + ra jim?-bu-na ,  
fire oven I light-Caus-Pa fire paperbark I strip-Them-Pa  
gu:ɽa-na + ña + ra , ba:nu + ɳa ɳaɳa-na .  
roast-Pa it I left alone it burn-Pa

*They ate, then slept, and (it) became daylight. Again I went, I found it (another kangaroo). I speared it. I went (to) a shady place, I sat in something like this, in the shade. I lit a fire, a stone oven. I lit a fire (in) a stone oven. I cut some paperbark into strips. I 'roasted' it (the kangaroo). It was left alone burning (cooking).*

COMMENTS: It is unclear why ɗilkuru-ɳu *big person, grownup* is not pluralised in 19.1 (two instances). At the very beginning ɢali *they* is clause-initial and therefore not cliticised, but lacks contrastive emphatic ya since it cannot be contrasted with anything in a preceding clause. Similarly, ɳara-pi shortly after is a clause-initial non-clitic pronominal subject-marker, and shows Emphatic suffix -pi. Later in 19.1, wa:ɳa-ɳara is treated as an isolation form and the pronominal enclitics therefore do not directly follow it. The element wa:ni-Ø, which is pronounced so quickly and with such little emphasis that it is nearly inaudible, functions here almost like a root form, and I did not hear a Past tense suffix with it so it is even reduced in form somewhat. In the following clause we have a good example of the Originative suffix -kuɳu (-guɳu after nouns) in its only common sense, indicating the provider or source of a commodity. The Originative pronominal here is treated as an enclitic and therefore precedes the subject-marker ɢali.



In 19.2, ɲu:ra-ŋa and the following jaɖaw?-wu-na occur without the expected subject-markers. Similarly in the clause beginning with ɭakiriŋ?-ŋa there appears to be no subject-marker, though if we regard this as a continuation of the preceding clause wa:ni-na + ra shade this can be accounted for.

Although *kangaroo* is a 'higher' animate noun and can therefore take nonzero cross-referencing non-subject pronominals such as Accusative ña *it*, *him*, these are omitted in some clauses in this text. In several cases this omission is easily accounted for by observing that the 'slot' which such cross-referencing pronominals would fill has already been occupied by a Dative or Originative enclitic pronominal referring to humans (ɲara-pi + ɖali-ŋu ɾay-bangu!-na + nu ja:ʒa; guruka-ŋa + ɖali-ŋu + ra; ɭuka-ŋa + ra-kunu + ɖali ɖilkuru-ŋu-y). The remaining clauses which show omissions of expected 3Sg Accusative enclitic ña referring to *kangaroo* are ɭuka-ŋa + ɖali and ɭa-na + ra, both in 19.2. I would prefer not to make too much out of this, since even subject enclitics are omitted in some clauses in that segment. The enclitic ña does show up in find 'em?-bu-na + ña + ra and gu:ʒa-na + ña + ra, both in 19.2.

#### Text 20 (Woodcutter) MOVING TO A NEW SETTLEMENT

guruku + ɲara wa:n-i , mungu-yu-ru + ña + ra munuma-ŋa ,  
*later I go-Fut follow-Them-Fut him I man's name-Acc*  
 munuma-ŋa + ña + ra mungu-yu-ru , find 'em?-bu-ru + ña + ra ba:ri  
*name-Acc him I follow-Them-Fut find-Them-Fut him I maybe*  
 ɲuŋ?-ŋa + nu ɲa:-ŋu + ña + ra , ɲuki + ya liñu ɲi:n-i + nu .  
*there now see-Fut him I that we(DuEx) sit-Fut now*

*Later I will go. I will follow Munuma. Munuma is the one I will follow. Maybe I will find him there then and I will see him. He and I will stay ('sit') (at) that (place) then.*

COMMENTS: Munuma (Willy, narrator of Texts 1 and 2) had gone north to a new settlement, while Woodcutter had remained behind when this text was given. In the last clause ɲuki *that* seems to be functioning as a demonstrative adverb *there* rather than as a demonstrative pronoun.

## Text 21 (Woodcutter)

## HUNTING EMUS

1) ɲara mingu-ɲa , ɲa:-ɲa + ɲa + ra wakala-ɲa + ɲay , "wurpaɲ + da-ku  
 I hunt-Pa see-Pa it I crawl-Pa it emu I-Dat  
 wakala-ma " , ɖu:l? + ɲara bu-ɲa , bu!ʔbu!-u-na + ɲa + ra ,  
 crawl-Pr camouflage I hit-Pa sneak up-Them-Pa it I  
 bu!ʔbu!-u-na + ɲa + ra , galki + nu + ɲay !uka-ɲa ɲaʔa ,  
 sneak up-Them-Pa it I nearby now it eat-Pa food  
 giʔ + ɲa + ra yaw-u-na ɲuli , munbap galki-ri-ɲa  
 spear(verb) it I spear-Them-Pa that fall fall-Aug-Pa  
 ɲuɲ?-ɲiɾi + ɖi , wa:ni-ɲa + ɲa + ra ɖaʔa-ɖa!ʔ ɖubuk ,  
 there go-Pa it I anus-close up sling over shoulder

*I went hunting. I saw it, it was going along slowly. 'An emu is crawling to (for) me.' I knocked off some branches as camouflage. I sneaked up to it. I sneaked up to it, it was eating food nearby. I speared it there. It fell down right there. I went and blocked up the anus, and slung it over my shoulders.*

2) guruka-ɲa + ɲa + ra wa:ni-ɲa:: , ɲurwič-ɲaʔa + ya ,  
 carry-Pa it I go-Pa shady place-Loc  
 ɲurwič-ɲaʔa + ya , ɲurwič-ɲaʔa ɲara-kala , ɖut + nu + ra ,  
 shady place-Loc shady place-Loc I-LocIncr sit now I  
 guɾʔa + ra mur-maʔa-ɲa:: , mungur + ra ɖaw?-wu-na:: , gapu + ra  
 fire I light-Caus-Pa cooliman I strip off-Them-Pa water I  
 ɖit-ɖu-na , gaɲaɲaɲja?-wur?-na + ɲa + ra wirki ,  
 fetch-Them-Pa emu feather-pluck-Pa it I a lot

*I went along carrying it over my shoulders. At a shady place, at a shady place, at a shady place of mine I sat down. I lit a fire. I stripped off some paperbark as a cooliman (container). I got some water. I plucked out all the feathers.*

3) buypi-baʔa-na + ɲa + ra , jiʔjiʔ-bu-maʔa + ɲa + ra ,  
 surface-burn-Pa it I pull out guts-Aux-Pa it I  
 jiʔjiʔ-bu-ɲa + ɲa + ra , ɖuri-ɖum? , ɖuri + ya + ɲa + ra  
 pull out guts-Aux-Pa it I guts-cut open guts it I  
 yalkaraɲgar?-na:: , cut 'em up-u-na + ɲa + ra , ɲalʔiɾ , ma:ra-ɲa  
 separate-Pa cut up-Them-Pa it I liver get-Pa

+ ra , baʔa-na + ra , balaka ɲara-ku ʎuka-ɲa + ra , ɖuri yu:tu ,  
 I cook-Pa I portion I-Gen eat-Pa I guts small  
 ɖuri yindi , guɖaʎ?-yu-na + ɲa + ra ga:na , ɲa yindi , ɖumuru-ɲu ,  
 guts big roast-Them-Pa it I alone it big big  
 ga:na , ba:nu + ɲa ɲaɲa-ɲa ,  
 alone left alone it burn-Pa

*I scorched its surface. I pulled out the guts. I pulled out the guts. I separated the (various kinds of) guts, and I cut them up. I got the liver, I cooked it. I ate my portion (of guts) the 'small guts' (intestines). I 'roasted' the 'big guts' (the stomach) by itself. It was big. The big one, by itself, it was left there burning.*

COMMENTS: *Emu* is a 'higher' animate noun and therefore, like *kangaroo*, it normally is cross-referenced by a nonzero pronominal enclitic in Accusative function. When, in 21.3, the direct object appears to be a body part of the emu, we can either take *emu* as the real direct object and therefore use a cross-referencing Accusative pronominal (ɖuri + ya + ɲa + ra yalkarangaɲa-na::) or we can take the body-part term as the direct object and dispense with cross-referencing pronominals (ma:ra-ɲa + ra, etc.).

In 21.1, wurpaɲ + da-ku shows reduction of 1Sg Dative ɲara-ku to /ra-ku/ in enclitic position, with subsequent hardening of /r/ to d following the nasal; cf. section (2.4) in the grammar. It is not clear whether ɲuli, a bit later on, means *that (emu)* or *there, in the same place*. In the following clause, munbap galki-ri-ɲa ɲuɲ?-ɲiɲi + ɖi, a subject-marker cross-referencing *emu* has been omitted.

In 21.2, ɲara-kala is really Genitive *my* modifying ɲurwič *shady place*, but since the latter is in Locative case (ɲurwič-ɲaɲa) a Case-Agreement transformation mentioned in (9.16) in the grammar is triggered, converting Genitive ɲara-ku *my* into Locative ɲara-kala-ɲaɲa (with obligatory Locative Increment -kala-). This is shortened to ɲara-kala here by a low-level simplification.

In 21.3, balaka ɲara-ku ʎuka-ɲa + ra shows the enclitic subject-marker following the second constituent (counting the Genitive phrase balaka ɲara-ku as a single constituent) rather than the first. Either this is because balaka ɲara-ku was taken as an isolation form, not formally integrated into the following clause, or perhaps it is because the narrator felt uncomfortable with 1Sg subject-marker (ɲa)ra directly

adjacent to 1Sg Genitive *ɲara-ku*. The expressions *ɖuri yu:ɣu* and *ɖuri yindi* are specialised 'idioms' and can be taken as compounds (*ɖuri-yu:ɣu*, *ɖuri-yindi*).

In cooking emus, the intestines and certain organs are removed through an incision in the belly. The intestines and liver are cooked briefly over a fire and usually eaten right away. The stomach is cooked for several hours in a small oven of its own, and the main carcass in a larger oven. All of this is usually done in a convenient shady place near the site of the kill. The stomach may be eaten by the hunter when it is cooked, and he may also consume part of the carcass. The remainder is carried back to the camp. It is not customary to carry the entire animal back to the camp immediately after the kill and prepare it there, unless the kill is made very close to the camp.

Text 22 (Woodcutter)      LONG-NECKED TORTOISE

*bakara* , *bakara* + *ya* , *ɲara-ku wa:yin* , *ɲara* + *ña barč-u-n*  
*tortoise tortoise*      *I-Gen meat*      *I*      *it throw spears at-*  
  
*bakara* + *ya* , *yiki* + *ɖi river* , *ɲiga-ɲigaɾ-kuru?* *ya* ,  
*Them-Pr tortoise*      *that*      *Rdp-billabong-Per*  
  
*ma:m?-bu-n* + *ɲay* , *ɲali* + *ña barč-u-n* ,  
*appear-Them-Pr*      *it*      *we(DuIn)*      *it throw spears at-Them-Pr*  
  
*ɲara-ku wa:yin* , *ɲara* + *ɖan-ɲu maŋgi* ,  
*I-Gen meat*      *I*      *it-Dat acquainted*

*Long-necked tortoise (Chelodina ?rugosa). Long-necked tortoise is my meat (i.e. one of the animals which I customarily hunt). I throw spears at long-necked tortoises. It appears (in) that river, in all the billabongs. You and I spear it. (It is) my meat, I know about it.*

COMMENTS: Note the use of clause-initial, uncliticised subject pronouns in *ɲara* + *ña barč-u-n* and *ɲali* + *ña barč-u-n*. In *ɲiga-ɲigaɾ-kuru?* in all the billabongs we have a good example of the Progressive suffix *-kuru?*. The final clause shows one use of the Dative, indicating the point of reference of a verb (or, in this case, adjectival noun) designating an emotional or intellectual state.

## Text 23 (Woodcutter)

## EMU'S HABITS

emu , wurpaŋ , wurpaŋ , ɲaʒa + ya + ɲan-ŋu ɲaŋa? ,  
           emu           emu           food           it-Gen marble tree fruits  
 jingirič , jingirič ɲan-ŋu ɲaʒa , buruŋburuŋ? , buruŋburuŋ?  
 marble tree marble tree it-Gen food red creeper red creeper  
 ɲan-ŋu ɲaʒa , big river , ɲaŋ?-gu-n + ja + ɲay ɲuŋ?-ɲiri + ɟi ,  
 it-Gen food                   bathe-Them-Pr           it there  
 gapu + ya + nu ɭuka-Ø , wurpaŋ-ɟu + ya , gapu-wa +  
 water           now consume-Pr emu-Erg           in the water  
 napu + ña ɲuli barč-u-n + ja ɲuŋ?-ɲiri + ɟi ,  
 we(PlEx) it that throw spears at-Them-Pr           there  
 ɭuka-Ø-ŋu + ɲay ɲaŋ?-gu-n-ŋu + ɲay , wurpaŋ .  
 consume-Pr-Sub it bathe-Them-Pr-Sub it emu

Emu, emu. Its food is fruits of the marble tree (*Owenia vernicosa*).  
 Marble tree, marble tree (is) its food. (Also) a reddish creeper  
 (*Cassytha filiformis*), a reddish creeper is its food. (At) a big  
 river, it goes into the water there, it drinks the water, the emu does.  
 We throw spears at it right there in the water, as it drinks and as it  
 bathes, the emu.

COMMENTS: Note that there is a special term not only for the tree  
 (jingirič, also baŋar?), but also for the large, marble-like fruits of  
 that species (ɲaŋa?). Emus eat these fruits, and also the berries of  
 the reddish creeper mentioned. Note the special adverb gapu-wa *in the*  
*water* from gapu *water* with otherwise unattested suffix. The demon-  
 strative pronoun ɲuli *that* seems to mean (*right*) *there*. In gapu + ya  
 + nu ɭuka-Ø the subject-marking pronominal enclitic has been dropped.  
 This is one of the very few occasions in my textual corpus where the  
 two enclitics ya and nu (both individually extremely common) co-occur  
 in a single enclitic cluster. The verb muŋ-gu- *to drink, to take a*  
*drink* has been passed up here in favour of ɭuka-, whose primary senses  
 are *to eat (food)* and *to smoke (tobacco)*, but which can sometimes mean  
*to drink* as here. In gapu-wa + napu + ña ɲuli barč-u-n + ja we have  
 another example where 3Sg Accusative enclitic ña follows rather than  
 precedes a Nominative enclitic, here napu *we*. This is particularly  
 common with speakers from the Wa:gilak maʒa, to which Woodcutter  
 belongs.

## Text 24 (Willy) TROUBLE WITH TWO WHITE MEN

- 1) munəŋa-maŋji? + maŋda wa:ni-na ŋum-bala ŋara-kala-li?  
 White-Du they(Du) go-Pa that way 1Sg-LocIncr-All  
 ɖu:ŋji-li? , Melbourne-ŋuɾu? , one day + maŋda ŋuŋ?-ŋiri + ɖi + ya ,  
 pl.n.-All -Abl they(du) there  
 gurupa-ɾa + maŋda-ŋa one day , ŋu:r-ŋana + maŋda , guɖarpuy +  
 give-Past them(Du)-Acc sleep-Pa next day  
 maŋda wa:ni-na + nu , Melbourne-li? ,  
 go-Pa now -All

*Two White men went that way, to my (country), to Doindji, from Melbourne. They (were there) one day. They had (were given) one day. They slept (overnight), and the next day they went (back) to Melbourne.*

- 2) baŋgu!?-yu-na + nu + maŋda , yirkala-kuru? , ɖa:wu +  
 return-Them-Pa now they(Du) pl.n.-Per word(s)  
 ŋan-ŋu + ra !akaɾa-ma , boss-ɖi-ri + ŋa ɖawal-gu , ŋuki?-guru? +  
 him-Dat I tell-Pr -Inch-Pr he country- that-Aug-Per  
 ɖi , ŋu:r-ŋana + maŋda wiɖipiyan?-gu , plane + maŋda ma:-na  
 sleep-Pa they(Du) one-Dat they(Du) get-Pa  
 ŋuki-r-ŋuɾu? + ɖi + ya ɖu:ŋji-ŋuɾu? + ya , ɖu:ŋji-ŋuɾu? , airplane +  
 from there pl.n.-Abl  
 maŋda ma:-na ,

*They went back then (to Melbourne), through (via) Yirkala. I am telling him (Heath) the story, he is boss of (i.e. is interested in) the countries. The two (White men went) through that (place). They slept (at Doindji) one (night), and took the plane from there, from Doindji. They got the airplane from Doindji (to Elcho Island).*

- 3) bala + maŋda buɕ-ɖu-na + nu , galiwin?gu-li? , Elcho +  
 that way they(Du) fly-Them-Pa pl.n.-All  
 maŋda ŋuŋ?-ŋiri + ɖi , ŋuki-r-ŋuɾu? + ɖi + ya + maŋda Melbourne ,  
 they(Du) there from there they(Du)  
 baŋgu!?-yu-na + maŋda , ŋara + maŋda-ŋa charge 'em?-bu-na +  
 return-Them-Pa they(Du) I them(Du)-Acc -Them-Pa

maṇḍa-ṇa + ra ṇuki-r-ṇuṇu? + ḡi + ya , waṇa-ṇa + maṇḍa-ṇa  
 them-Acc I from there speak to-Pa them(Du)-Acc  
 + ra , ḡawal-gu + ya ṇuṇu-n?-na + ya ,  
 I country-Dat that-Aug-Nom

*They flew that way, to Galiwinku (Elcho Island). They (stayed) there, at Elcho. From there they went back to Melbourne. I demanded payment from them after that (for disturbing totemic sites). I spoke to them about that country (Doindji).*

4) yaka + maṇḍa allowed ṇuṇu-n?-na + ḡi + ya , ḡu:ñji + ya? ,  
 not they(Du) that-Aug-Nom pl.n.  
mineral + ya , cash + ṇara-ṇa + maṇḍa gurupu-lu + ya ,  
 large sum me-Acc they(Du) give-Fut  
money , guruku + nu + ḡali ma:ra-wu + ya , mineral + ya guruku  
 later now they(Pl) get-Fut later  
 + ḡali-ña + ra gurupu-lu , bili ṇara ṇuṇ?-ṇiṛi + ḡi + ya wɔn ,  
 them-Acc I give-Fut finished I there boss  
 ḡu:ñji + ya ṇara-ku ,  
 pl.n. me-Gen

*They are now allowed (in) that (place), Doindji. Minerals (are there). They will give me a large sum of money, then all of them will get minerals, I will give it to them. That's all, I am the owner (of Doindji), Doindji is mine.*

5) ṇu:ra-Ø + ya + ṇa outside , mineral + ya ṇu:ra-Ø + ya + ṇay  
 lie-Pr it it  
outside , julka-ṇaṛa + ya + ṇa ṇu:ra-Ø-?may? ḡiripi + ya ,  
 ground-Loc it lie-Pr-not inside  
 ṇu:ra-Ø + ya + ṇa ḡapala .  
 lie-Pr outside

*It (the mineral deposit) lies outside (i.e. a short distance away from Doindji itself). The minerals are outside. They are not on the ground, inside (Doindji), they are outside.*



COMMENTS: The term *won* in 24.4 appears to be a (Pidgin) English term, meaning *boss, rightful owner*. The use of the English word *allowed*, usually pronounced [low] or the like, is common in Aboriginal languages in the area now.

Text 25 (Willy) PLANNING A CORROBOREE

- 1) ga:tura + napu bungul wakal?-yu-ru , ga:tura + napu  
*today we(PlEx) corroboree play-Them-Fut*
- bungul wakal?-yu-ru , ripu-ripurumiri? , bay? + la?  
*afternoon leave for a while*
- yal?-yu-ru napulu-ŋu , ŋa:-ŋu + napulu-ŋa + ŋay ,  
*be cool-Them-Fut us(PlEx)-Dat see-Fut us(PlEx)-Acc he*
- yaŋu-n?-du balanda-y , ŋaŋ?-gu-ru + napu biggest corroboree ,  
*this-Aug-Erg White-Erg bathe-Them-Fut we*

*Today we will perform a corroboree. In the afternoon. We will leave it (i.e. wait) until it gets cooler (i.e. dusk) for us. This White man (Heath) will see us. We will (ritually) bathe (and perform) a very big corroboree.*

- 2) bungul + napulu-ŋu darpal?-ŋu ga:tura + ya , ripu-ripurumiri?,  
*corroboree us(PlEx)-Gen big today afternoon*
- ripu-ripurumiri? , bungul + ya + napulu-ŋu , ga:tura + ya , whole lot  
*corroboree us-Gen today*
- yurupanji-puy-wač yaku-puy + gi , ga:tura + ya + ŋa jir?-yu-na  
*pl.n.-Assoc-Pl this-Assoc today he go down-Them-Pa*
- ŋara-kala-li? , early fellow yaku + ya + liŋu waŋa-ŋa-mi-ri ,  
*I-LocIncr-All morning this we(DuEx) speak-Aug-Recip-Fut*
- balanda + ya , language man ,  
*White*

*We (will) have a bit corroboree today, in the afternoon. In the afternoon we will have a corroboree, today. A lot of (people) from this place Yurupanji (will come for it). Today he (Heath) will come down to me (to my camp). In the morning he and I will talk to each other, (me and) the White man, the language man.*

- 3) yaku + gi + liñu      gi:na-Ø wana-Ø + nan-ŋu + ra yaku + ya ,  
       this                we(DuEx) sit-Pr speak-Pr him-Dat I this
- ga:wu + nan-ŋu    !akaɾa-ma , ga:wu + nan-ŋu + ra !akaɾa-ma ,  
       word(s) him-Dat tell-Pr        word(s) him-Dat I tell-Pr
- yaŋu-n?-gu , ga:ɬuɾa bungul ,    bungul + napu        ba:ri wakaɬ?-yu-ru ,  
       this-Aug-Dat today    corroboree                we(PlEx) maybe play-Them-Fut

*This (White man) and I are sitting (here), I am speaking to this one. I tell the words to this one. Today (we have) a corroboree. Maybe we will perform a corroboree.*

- 4) him want 'em bungul    + ya + nan-ŋu , ga:ɬuɾa yurupanji-puy-waɕ  
       he wants        corroboree                him-Dat                pl.n.-Assoc-Pl
- + ja galki + nu , wa:n-i .  
       nearby        now    go-Fut

*He wants (to record) the corroboree singing for himself. Today the Yurupanji group, not far away, will come.*

## Text 26 (Willy)

## RITUAL CLEANSING

- 1) ga:ɬuɾa + ya + napu ,      ga:ɬuɾa + ya + napu + ña    !up-maɾa-ŋa ,  
       today                we(PlEx)                                her immerse-Caus-Pa
- ŋaŋ?-ma-la + napu + ña    ga:ɬuɾa + ya , g McKay-u-r-a  
       bathe-Caus-Pa    we(PlEx) her today                make sacred-Them-Fut-Pot
- + ña + ŋay , maɟayin-li? ,      walkiñba-li? + ña + ŋay  
       her    he        ritual ground-All    pl.n.-All                her    he
- g McKay-u-na                walkiñba-li? , ga:ɬuɾa + napu + ña  
       make sacred-Them-Pa                today        we(PlEx)    her
- ŋaŋ?-ma-la    guɟarpuy , guɟa-wuɟarpuy + napu + ña    ŋaŋ?-ma-la + ya  
       bathe-Caus-Pa morning    morning                we        her bathe-Caus-Pa
- ga:ɬuɾa ,  
       today

*Today we have ritually bathed her (a young married woman at Ngukurr). We have bathed her. He (her husband) made her sacred (i.e. taboo, after another man had temporarily run off with her). He (took) her to*

*the sacred place Walkiñbal and made her sacred. Today we have bathed her (to return her to normal state) in the morning, we have bathed her in the morning today.*

- 2) *nan-ŋu-pi + ya + ɖi ɖawal , nan-ŋu + ya bulu nan-ŋu ɳa:ŋɖi ,*  
*him-Gen-Emph country again him-Gen mother*  
*ɖawa-li? nanu-kala-pi-li? + ña + ɳay guyk-u-na +*  
*country-All him-LocIncr-Emph-All her he make sacred-Them-Pa*  
*ya , nan-ŋu gapiri-y nanu-kulu-y , ɳaŋ?-ma-la + napu + ña ,*  
*it-Gen nephew-Erg it-LocIncr-Erg bathe-Caus-Pa we her*  
*yurupanji-puy-wač-ɖu , wa:ɳa yaŋu-n?-gu + ɖi ,*  
*pl.n.-Assoc-Pl-Erg camp this-Aug-Gen*

*His own country (i.e. his mother's country), of him and his mother. He (took) her (his wife) to his own country and made her sacred. It's (the mother's country's) son (did that). We (then) (ritually) bathed her, (we and) the Yurupanji (place name) people, of this place.*

- 3) *ɖa:wu + nan-ŋu + ra ɭakaɾa-ma , ɖa:wu + nan-ŋu + ra*  
*word(s) him-Dat I tell-Pr*  
*ɭakaɾa-ma , ɳaŋ?-ma-la + napu + ña bu:kmaɕ yu:l-ŋu-wač*  
*bathe-Caus-Pa we her everyone person-Ø-Pl*  
*yaku-miɕjin-ɖu , wa:gilak guɭku + ya , wa:gilak guɭku + ya , maɖarpa*  
*this-group-Erg clan n. group clan n.*  
*guɭku + ya , ɳanapu + ña ɳaŋ?-ma-la + ya , nan-ŋu ɳa:ŋɖi-ɳa*  
*group we her bathe-Caus-Pa him-Gen mother-Acc*  
*ɖali-ŋu .*  
*them-Gen*

*I am telling him (Heath) the words. We bathed her - all of us Aborigines, this mob (i.e. the people living here), the Wa:gilak bunch, the Maɖarpa bunch. We bathed her, their (i.e. of the Maɖarpa clan) 'mother' (classificatory).*

COMMENTS: In section 26.1, *guyk-u-r-a* (Past Potential) is probably an error by the speaker for *Pa guyk-u-na*. Also in that section, note that *guɖarpuy* (usually *tomorrow*) is used in the sense *morning*, but the reduplication *guɖa-wuɖarpuy morning* is immediately added to insure clarity.

In 26.2, note that the man is referred to as the *sister's son* (*nephew*) of his mother's country. The mother calls her son by the same *nephew* term (i.e. this term includes the son of a female EGO), so the mother and her country have the same kinship status toward the man. At the end of 26.2, the suffix of *yaŋu-nʔ-gu* is unclear on the tape, and a transcription *yaŋu-nʔ-gu* with Inst suffix is also possible (though I do not see what sense this would produce).

In 26.3, observe the omission of Erg -*gu* with *yu:l-ŋu-waʃ*, though it occurs as expected on the following demonstrative. At the end of 26.3 note that the man's wife is referred to as the (classificatory) *mother* of all of the people in the Maɟarpa clan, showing neutralisation of generations in the collective EGO of reference.

I observed a portion of this ritual at Ngukurr (it was performed in the camp, with only minor efforts to keep women - other than the girl being cleansed - away). First the girl sat in a small circular pit a few inches deep, filled partly with water, and about twenty men gathered around and performed ritual singing. Then the girl was removed and two men, lying face-down on opposite sides of the pit, menaced each other with shovel spears, with one singer (sitting several yards away).

## Text 27 (Willy)

## BESTOWAL OF NAMES

- 1) *ŋuki + ya , ŋa:-ma-ŋu + ña + ŋay , ŋan-ŋu gapiri-y*  
*that see-Pr-Sub him she her-Gen niece-Erg*
- ŋanu-kulu-y , gana + ŋay ma:mʔ-bu-n-ŋu + ya , yu:ʔu + ya ,*  
*his-Loc-Incr-Erg so he appear-Them-Pr-Sub child*
- bili ŋan-ŋu ma:ʔi-gala + nu garaʔ + ya ʔulʔa-ma , ŋan-ŋu*  
*finish him-Gen MoMoBr-LocIncr now name give-Pr him-Gen*
- ma:ʔi-gala wa:wun-ŋu-gala ŋanu-kala-pi ,*  
*MoMoBr-LocIncr proper-Ø-LocIncr him-LocIncr-Emph*

*When that (woman) - his sister's daughter - bears (sees, finds) a child, so that the child is born, then it (the baby) is named after its mother's mother's brother, after its full mother's mother's brother.*

- 2) *bulu ŋuki + ya + ŋay yaka-ʔi-ri-ŋu ŋan-ŋu ma:ʔi + ya ,*  
*again that he absent-Inch-Pr-Sub him-Gen MoMoBr*

ḡan-ḡu yapa-gala , ṛulṭa-ma + ya + ña + ḡay , ḡan-ḡu  
 him-Gen sister-LocIncr put down-Pr her he him-Gen  
 yapa-ḡa + ña + ḡay garaṛ gurupa-ḡ .  
 elder sister-Acc her he name give-Pr

*Then when his (the child's) mother's mother's brother (bearing the same name) dies, he bestows (the name) on his sister. He gives the name to his sister.*

COMMENTS: A man is normally named after his mother's mother's brother, a woman after her mother's mother. This may be done while the grandfather (grandmother) is still alive or after he (she) is dead. In the former case, when he (she) eventually does die, the child must abandon that name, though it can be passed on to his sister. Less often, a child is named after its father's father, but in no case is the name that of an ancestor of the opposite moiety. The actual bestower of the name (i.e. the person who selects the name) may be almost any close ascending kinsman of the child, such as the father, mother's brother, mother's father's sister, etc., and thus may be of either moiety. The names are in most cases also found as songwords, chiefly in didjeridu-accompanied bungul singing, but sometimes in the more sacred maḡayin ritual singing.

## Text 28 (Willy)

## MARRIAGE

1) ḡuki + ya ḡi:na-ḡ-ḡu + ḡan-ḡu + ḡay bulu , milmara + ya ,  
 that sit-Pr-Sub her-Dat he again bestowed  
 ḡuki + ya + ḡay bulu , ḡa:-ma-ḡu yu:ṭu + ya ḡan-ḡu-pi + ya + ḡi  
 that she again see-Pr-Sub child her-Gen-Emph  
 + ya , ḡan-ḡu guruḡ-ḡu + ya , milmara + ḡan-ḡu ḡuki  
 his-Gen MoMoBrDa-Erg bestowed her-Gen that  
 ḡawu?-ḡa-wala-ḡu + ña + ḡay , ḡuki + ya + ña + ḡay  
 bestowed-Fact-Pa-Sub him she that him she  
 ḡuḡu-n?-na + ḡi + ya ḡan-ḡu guruḡ-ḡa gurupa-ḡ ,  
 that-Aug-Acc her-Gen FaSiDaSo-Acc give-Pr

*When that (man), her bestowed (son-in-law), sits (waits) for her, and when she - his (prospective) mother-in-law - bears (finds) a child of her own, she gives that (female child) to her son-in-law, the one which she has bestowed (her daughter) on.*

2) *dumuru-ti-ri-nu + nay wa:ni-Ø-nu , nan-nu guruŋ-na + nu + ña*  
*big-Inch-Pr-Sub she go-Pr-Sub her-Gen FaSiDaSo-Acc now him*  
*nay gurupa-ŋ + ja , na + ya bulu , nan-nu ruŋday + ya ,*  
*she give-Pr he again him-Gen father-in-law*  
*wana-Ø + nu + ña + nay , nan-nu ba:pa ruŋi-n?-gu + gi +*  
*speak to-Pa now him he her-Gen father that-Aug-Gen*  
*ya yu:tu-wu , nuki + ya + ña + gali gurupa-ŋ + ja , bili nan-nu*  
*child-Gen that him they give-Pr finish her-Gen*  
*yiki + gi + ya milmara + ya , na:ti + ya nan-nu da:wu? + ya .*  
*that bestowed before her-Gen bestowed*

*When she (the woman's daughter) gets big (grows up), she gives (her) to her son-in-law. As for the father-in-law, he speaks to him (his son-in-law), the father of that child. They (the girl's relatives) give (her) to him. That is her (the mother-in-law's) bestowed (son-in-law), the one bestowed on her earlier.*

COMMENTS: Some ambiguities in the text are due to the multiple meanings of *milmara* and *da:wu?* *bestowed, promised*, which can mean *bestowed mother-in-law, bestowed son-in-law, bestowed wife, or bestowed husband*. Here the sense is *bestowed son-in-law*.

## Text 29 (Willy)

## THE WEDDING NIGHT

1) *nuki + ya bulu + ña + nay , nan-nu guruŋ-gala-li? + ya*  
*that again him she her-Gen FaSiDaSo-LocIncr-All*  
*juy?-yu-n-nu , nan-nu guruŋ-gala-li? + ña + nay*  
*send-Them-Pr-Sub her-Gen FaSiDaSo-LocIncr-All her she*  
*juy?-yu-n-nu , nan-nu guruŋ-du + ya , "gačuy wa:n-i + nu +*  
*send-Them-Pr-Sub his-Gen MoMoBrDa-Erg go! go-Fut now*  
*ña + gi: , ru:r-i + nanu-kala + gi: ruŋ?-ŋi:ri + gi ,*  
*him you(Sg) sleep-Fut him-LocIncr you there*

*That (woman) again, she sends (her daughter) to her son-in-law (father's sister's daughter's son). She, his mother-in-law (mother's mother's brother's daughter), sends her to her son-in-law. (She tells her daughter,) 'Go now! Sleep in his camp there!'*

2) nu:ra-Ø + maŋða wa:ni-Ø , gabaŋ?-yu-n + nu + ya + ŋay ,  
 sleep-Pr they(Du) go-Pr dawn-Them-Pr now it  
 baŋgu!?-yu-n + ŋay ŋaŋa-li? maŋða-ŋu , ŋaŋa + ŋay !uka-Ø , ma:ra-ma  
 return-Them-Pr she food-All them(Du)-Dat food she eat-Pr get-Pr  
 + ŋan-ŋu + ŋay , ŋan-ŋu ɠuway-gu + ya , ɠay-baŋgu!?-yu-n +  
 him-Dat she her-Gen husband-Dat with-return-Them-Pr  
 ŋan-ŋu + ŋay ŋuŋ?-ŋiŋi + maŋða ŋi:na-Ø , ŋan-ŋu guruŋ-ɠu  
 him-Dat she there they(Du) sit-Pr his-Gen MoMoBrDa-Erg  
 + ña + ŋay guruŋa-ŋ , ŋuku-r-ŋuŋu? + ya ŋaŋa + ya , ŋuŋ?-ŋiŋi + nu  
 him she give-Pr from there food there now  
 + maŋða !uka-Ø .  
 they(Du) eat-Pr

*They sleep (together). Then the dawn comes, and she (the new wife) goes back (to her parents' camp) to get food for the two of them. She eats some food, and gets some for him, for her husband. She takes it back to him, the two of them sit there. His (the husband's) mother-in-law provides food for him. After that they (sit) there eating the food.*

COMMENTS: Note that guruŋ is here used in two (self-reciprocal) senses, as son-in-law and mother-in-law (or their genealogical correlates), although mu:kul aunt can also be used for mother-in-law.

#### Text 30 (Willy) AVOIDANCE (RESPECT) RELATIONSHIPS

ŋan-ŋu guruŋ + ja + ña + ŋay wa:ni-Ø-?may? , baku + ya + nu  
 her-Gen FaSiDaSo her he go-Pr-not far now  
 + ŋay ŋi:na-Ø + ya , yaka-ŋu + ña + ŋay waŋa-Ø-?may? ŋan-ŋu  
 he sit-Pr not her he speak to-Pr-not him-Gen  
 guruŋ-ŋa + ya , guruŋ?-yu-n + ŋan-ŋu + ŋay ŋuki + ya ŋan-ŋu  
 MoMoBrDa-Acc avoid-Them-Pr her-Dat he that him-Gen  
 guruŋ-gu + ya , galki + ya + ŋa wa:ni-Ø-ŋu baku?-baku + nu ŋa  
 MoMoBrDa-Dat near he go-Pr-Sub Rdp-far now she  
 + ya wa:ni-Ø , ŋan-ŋu mu:kul + ya , ŋa + ya ŋan-ŋu guruŋ + ja  
 go-Pr him-Gen aunt he her-Gen FaSiDaSo  
 ŋuki + ya ŋi:na-Ø-ŋu galki + ya , ŋuki + ya + ŋan-ŋu + ŋay  
 that sit-Pr-Sub near that him-Dat she



guruʔ-yu-n , ɲan-ŋu guruŋ-gu + ya .  
 avoid-Them-Pr her-Gen FaSiDaSo-Dat

*Her son-in-law cannot go close to her. He sits far away (from her). He cannot speak to his mother-in-law, he avoids (respects) that mother-in-law. If she (inadvertently) approaches he goes far away. His aunt (mother-in-law), for her part, avoids her son-in-law (staying at a distance) if her son-in-law is sitting there.*

COMMENTS: The verb guruʔ-yu- to avoid refers literally to the action of walking around a respected relative at a safe distance, but more generally serves as a description of the behaviour associated with such relationships. The strongest avoidance relationship is between an actual or prospective son-in-law (guruŋ) and the corresponding mother-in-law (guruŋ or mu:kul), though the relationship in one form or another affects any pair of persons who call each other guruŋ. Note that at the beginning of the text the term guruŋ is used for both son-in-law and mother-in-law, as in the preceding text, but toward the end the speaker finally takes advantage of the occurrence of a second term for mother-in-law, mu:kul (primary meaning: father's sister, who is not called guruŋ and is not avoided); this permits a distinction (in this context) between the two types of guruŋ (son-in-law, mother-in-law).

## Text 31 (Willy)

## BROTHER-SISTER AVOIDANCE

1) ɲuki + ya + bulu + ɲay , ɲan-ŋu guʔa + ya wa:ni-Ø-ŋu  
 that again he her-Gen younger brother go-Pr-Sub  
 + ya , ɲan-ŋu yapa-ŋa + ya , ɲan-ŋu yapa-ŋa + ɲa  
 his-Gen elder sister-Acc his-Gen sister-Acc he  
 wa:ni-Ø-ŋu , barku + ɲay ɲi:na-Ø + ya , ɲuki + ya maŋɖa-ŋu yu:ʔu  
 go-Pr-Sub far he sit-Pr that them(Du)-Gen child  
 + nu maŋɖa-ŋu-pi + ya + ɖi ɲan-ŋu gapiri , ɲuki + ɲan-ŋu + ɲa  
 now them(Du)-Gen-Emph him-Gen nephew that him-Dat he  
 ɲaʔa + ya ga:-ma , ɲan-ŋu gaykay-gu + ya ,  
 food cary-Pr him-Gen uncle-Dat

*That one (the brother-sister relationship) also. If the (younger) brother goes to (visit) his (elder) sister, he remains sitting some*

distance away (from her). Their child (i.e. the sister's son), his nephew (sister's son) takes food to him, to his uncle (mother's brother).

2) ḡan-ḡu yapa-li + ña + ḡay gurupa-ḡ ḡum-bala barku-wala ,  
 him-Gen sister-Erg him she give-Pr that way far away-Dir  
 ḡa + ya barku ḡi:na-Ø , ḡan-ḡu ḡuṭa + ya , ḡa + ya + ña + ḡa  
 he far her-Gen brother she him she  
 gurupa-ḡ ḡuki maṇḡa-ḡu yu:ṭu + nu , ḡa:-ma + ña + ḡay ,  
 give-Pr that them(Du)-Gen child now carry-Pr him he  
 gurupa-ḡ + ña + ḡay barku , ṭuka-Ø + ya + ḡay , bay? + ḡay  
 give-Pr him he far eat-Pr he left aside he  
 ḡuḡ?-ḡiṛi + ya jambaka? + ya .  
 there billycan

His sister gives it to him (her brother) at a distance (through her son). The brother remains at a distance. She gives it to their child then and he carries it to him. He gives it to him at a distance. He (the brother) eats, the billycan (with food) is left there (after the nephew puts it down).

COMMENTS: Note that the expression *their child* (maṇḡa-ḡu yu:ṭu) links the brother and sister as dual EGO's of reference with respect to the child. Note also the ergative form yapa-li at the beginning to 3l.2. Avoidance, though of a less severe sort than between son-in-law and mother-in-law, is practised between opposite-sex siblings (of the same parents) after a certain age. Seniority does not affect this avoidance; the choice of terms meaning *elder sister* and *younger brother* (rather than *younger sister* and *elder brother*) is not significant here, but is due to the fact that the sibling terms in the language must specify seniority and so one set of terms or the other had to be (arbitrarily) chosen by the speaker.

#### Text 32 (Willy) SENDING THE BRIDE TO HER HUSBAND

1) ḡuki + ya + ña + ḡay bulu , ḡan-ḡu ma:ṛi-li + ya , ḡuki + ya  
 that her he again him-Gen MoMoBr-Erg that  
 + ña + ḡay waṇa-Ø , " ḡurupu-lu + nu + ña + ḡi: , ḡurupu-lu  
 her he speak to-Pr give-Fut now him you(Sg)

+ nu + ña + ɲi: ", ɲan-ɲu mu:mu + ya , ɲan-ɲu mu:mu + ya ɲan-ɲu  
 him-Gen MoFaSi him-Gen  
 guruŋ-ɲa + ya , waŋa?-waŋa-Ø + nu ɲuki + ya + maŋɖa-ɲa +  
 MoMoBrDa-Acc Rdp-speak to-Pr now that them(Du)-Acc  
 ɲay , "yo! , gurupa-ɲ + nu + ña + lima ", ɲan-ɲu mu:mu-mañji? + ya ,  
 she yes! give-Pr now him we(PlIn) him-Gen MoFaSi-Du  
 ɲan-ɲu mu:mu + ya ɲan-ɲu ma:ɽi + ya + ña yaku?-yu-n + nu ,  
 him-Gen MoFaSi MoMoBr he say-Them-Pr now  
 ɲan-ɲu mu:mu + ya ɲan-ɲu ma:ɽi + ya ,

*Furthermore, his (the prospective bridegroom's) mother's mother's brother speaks to her (his daughter, the bridegroom's prospective mother-in-law). 'Give (your daughter) to him now.' His (the bridegroom's) mother's father's sister (also) speaks to those two (the mother-in-law and her husband). 'Yes, we will give (her) to him now.' The two mother's father's sisters (actually, the mother's mother's brother and the mother's father's sister) say that (to the mother-in-law and her husband).*

2) " gurupa-ɲ + nu + ña + lima , ɖumuru-ti-na + nu + ɲay ",  
 give-Pr now him we(PlIn) big-Inch-Pa now she  
 gana + maŋɖa ɲu:ra-Ø + nu , ɲu:ra-Ø + nu + maŋɖa , waŋa-Ø  
 so they(Du) sleep-Pr now they(Du) speak to-Pr  
 nu + ña + ɲay ɲuki + ya gapiri-ɲa + ya , "ga:ɽuɽa + ɲumaɖa  
 now him he that nephew-Acc today you(Du)  
 ɲu:r-i + nu , gurupu-lu + nu + napu + ña , ɲu-na + napu ",  
 sleep-Fut now give-Fut now we(PlEx) him you(Sg)-Acc we  
 " yo! , ga:ɽuɽa muka ", ɲuki + ya + ɖali yaku?-mi-ri + nu  
 yes! today indeed that they say-Recip-Pr now  
 waŋa-ɲa-mi-ri , ɲan-ɲu mu:mu + ya ɲan-ɲu ma:ɽi + ya .  
 speak to-Aug-Recip-Pr him-Gen MoFaSi him-Gen MoMoBr

*'We should give (the bride) to him now, she has grown up.' So now they (bride and bridegroom) sleep (together). He (the bride's father, whom the bridegroom calls gaykay 'uncle') speaks to his 'nephew'. 'Today you two will sleep (together). We will give (her) to you.' (The bridegroom says) 'Yes! Today!' They say that to each*

*other, they speak to each other like that, his (the bridegroom's) mother's father's sister and mother's mother's brother (referring here to 32.1).*

COMMENTS: The use of *mu:mu-mañji?* (dual of the kin-term *mu:mu*) for the combination of the *mu:mu* and the *ma:ri* (32.1) is not really correct, and the speaker immediately clarified this form. The use of (3+) P1 instead of Du in 32.2 (*lima, napu*) is due to the temporary broadening of the reference of the forms to include not only the two focal wife-givers (the mother and father of the bride) but also other members of their groups. Later in 32.2, *gurupu-lu+nu+napu+ña* incorrectly shows 3Sg Accusative enclitic *ña*, and the speaker quickly corrects this by adding 2Sg Accusative *gu-na*.

What the *ma:ri* and *mu:mu* are doing here is a) ensuring that the bride's parents fulfil their commitment to give their daughter to the promised bridegroom, and b) ensuring that the actual transfer of the bride from her parents' camp to that of her husband is not delayed excessively.

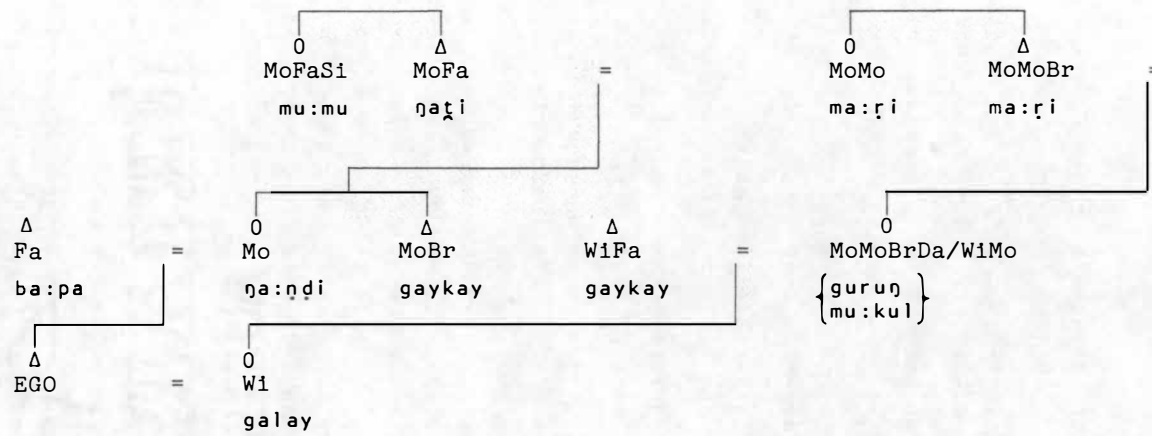
Looking at Figure T-1, we can see that the members of the second ascending (grandfather's) generation (*mu:mu, ña:ri, ma:ri*) are the ones putting pressure on the wife's parents (*gurun, gaykay*) to hand their daughter over to EGO. The two *gaykay* may, in theory, be identical if *MoMoBrDa* (*gurun*) has married EGO's mother's brother.

## Text 33 (Willy)

## MOTHER-IN-LAW BESTOWAL

- 1) *ñuki + ya + ñay bulu ñan-ñu gurun-đu + ya , ñan-ñu*  
*that he again her-Gen FaSiDaSo-Erg him-Gen*
- gurun-ña + ya , guḷun + ña + ñay buṇiċ-u-ru ,*  
*MoMoBrDa-Acc belly her he apply sweat-Them-Fut*
- guḷun-buṇiċ-u-ru + ña + ñay , ña + ya ñan-ñu ma:ri + ya yaku?-yu-n*  
*belly- the her Gen MoMoBr say-Them-Pr*
- waṇa-Ø , wa:ni-Ø + ña + ñay baṭ , wa:ni-Ø + nu + ña + ñay ,*  
*speak to-Pr go-Pr her he get go-Pr now her he*
- ṛulṭa-ma + ñan-ñu + ñay buṅgan , buṅgan + ñan-ñu + ñay ṛulṭa-ma ,*  
*put down-Pr her Dat he sweat*
- guḷun-buṇiċ-u-n + nu + ña + ñay ,*  
*belly-apply sweat-Them-Pr now her he*

FIGURE T-1



Furthermore, her (prospective) son-in-law (preferably actual father's sister's daughter's son) applies sweat onto the belly of his (prospective) mother-in-law. His mother's mother's brother speaks (to her), he goes and gets her. He goes then to him. He applies sweat (from his underarm) onto her (his mother-in-law), he applies sweat to her belly.

2) ma:kar-li?      ḡal?      +      ḡanu-kala      +      ḡay ,      ḡuki + ya ḡan-ḡu ,  
upper leg-All get up      her-LocIncr      that      him-Gen  
ḡan-ḡu ḡuki + ya , ḡawu?-ḡa-man      +      ḡā + ḡay ḡa:ḡili + ya  
bestowed-Fact-Pr      him      she first  
yu:ḡu-ḡaḡ? , ḡan-ḡu ḡuruḡ-ḡa      +      ya , ḡumuru-ḡi-ri + nu + ḡay ,  
child-while her-Gen FaSiDaSo-Acc      big-Inch-Pr      now      she  
yu:ḡu + nu + ḡā + ḡay ḡa:-ma , ḡuki + ya + ḡan-ḡu + ḡay ḡunupa  
child now her she see-Pr      that      him-Dat      she straight  
+ nu wa:ni-Ø , ḡum-bili ḡanu-kala-li? ḡan-ḡu ḡuruḡ-gala-li? ,  
now go-Pr      that way him-LocIncr-All her-Gen FaSiDaSo-LocIncr-All  
present + ja + ḡā + ḡay ḡurupa-ḡ ḡuki-r-ḡuḡu? + ḡi ḡanu-kunḡu  
her he give-Pr from there      him-Orig  
wi:č + ja + ḡay , ḡan-ḡu , ḡan-ḡu ḡuruḡ-ḡuḡu + ya ,  
gift he her-Dat      FaSiDaSo-Orig

He (the son-in-law) gets up onto her upper leg. That (mother-in-law) of his. She bestows (her future daughter) on him, while still a child, on her son-in-law. She (the mother-in-law) grows up and bears a (female) child. She (the female child) goes directly to him (not to anyone else, when old enough to leave her parents' camp) to her (the mother-in-law's) son-in-law. He (the bridegroom) gives her (his mother-in-law) gifts from himself (i.e. from his own hunting, etc.) after that. Gifts from her son-in-law.

3) guya + ɲan-ŋu + ɲay barč-u-n , ja:ča + ɲan-ŋu + ɲay  
*fish her-Dat he spear-Them-Pr kangaroo*

barč-u-n ɲan-ŋu guruŋ-gu + ya? , ɲan-ŋu ma:ɾi-wu + ya ,  
*his-Gen MoMoBrDa-Dat his-Gen MoMoBr-Dat*

gurupa-ŋ + nu + ña + ɲay wa:ni-Ø , ga: + ɲan-ŋu  
*give-Pr now him he go-Pr loose possessions him-Dat*

+ ɲay gurupa-ŋ , ga:yit , ɲa: ɲula , gurupa-ŋ + ɲan-ŋu +  
 he give-Pr shovel spear what? whatever give-Pr him-Dat  
 ɲay [aʔ]a , gurupa-ŋ + ɲan-ŋu .  
 he axe give-Pr him Dat

*He spears fish for her, he spears kangaroos for his mother-in-law. He (also) gives them to his mother's mother's brother (father of his mother-in-law). He keeps giving things to him. He gives him loose possessions (e.g. swag, blankets, tools), shovel spears, anything. He gives him axes. He gives them to him.*

COMMENTS: At an early age, a woman is bestowed on a man as his future mother-in-law by the brief ritual described in 33.1 and 33.2. This obligates the woman to offer her future female children to her bestowed son-in-law. The sense of *ɲunupa straight* in 33.2 is that the female child must go to that particular man, rather than going 'crookedly' (i.e. to another man).

## Text 34 (Willy)

## FATHER'S SISTER

ɲara-ku yiki + ya , yiki + ya mu:kul-ŋ? + ɲara-ku , mu:kul-ŋ?  
 me-Gen that aunt-my me-Gen aunt-my  
 yiki + ya ɲara-ku , ɲara-ku-pi , ɲara-ɲa + ña ma:mʔ-ma-la yiki +  
 that me-Gen me-Gen-Emph me-Acc she appear-Caus-Pa that  
 ya mu:kul-ŋ?-ɖu + ya , ba:pa-ŋ?-ɖu mu:kul-ŋ?-ɖu ɲara-kulu-y  
 aunt-my-Erg father-my-Erg aunt-my-Erg me-LocIncr-Erg  
 yiki + ya mu:kul-ŋ? + ja .  
 that aunt-my

*That aunt (father's sister) is mine. That is my aunt, mine properly. She made me come out (i.e. acted as midwife when I was born), my father's sister, that aunt of mine.*

COMMENTS: Since *mu:kul* can occasionally mean *mother-in-law* (usually *guruŋ*), the compound *ba:pa mu:kul* (also *mu:kul ba:pa*) is used at the end of the text to specify that here *mu:kul* refers to one's father's sister; this is a sequence of *mu:kul* plus the word for *father* (*ba:pa*), but the reference is to the father's sister (not to the father).



## Text 35 (Willy)

## DAUGHTER-EXCHANGE

1) nara-ku ma:ri-ŋ? , nara-ku ma:ri-ŋ? , ŋuki + ya nara-ku gaykay-ŋ?  
 me-Gen MoMoBr-my that me-Gen uncle-my  
 + ja , ... ŋuki ba:ri ŋan-ŋu gurun + ŋa ŋi:na-Ø ŋun?-ŋiri + ɖi ,  
 ... that maybe him-Gen MoMoBrDa she sit-Pr there  
 ŋuki + ya + ña + ra gurupu-lu nara-kunŋu yu:ʒu + ya , gaykay-ŋ?-ŋa ,  
 that him I give-Fut me-Orig child uncle-my-Acc  
 bari + ŋay ŋuku-r-ŋuŋu? bulu , ŋuku-r-ŋuŋu? + ŋay wana-Ø ,  
 maybe he from there again from there he speak-Pr  
 gapiri-ŋ?-gu + ŋan-ŋu , gapiri-ŋ?-gu ŋan-ŋu ga:ʒu ŋan-ŋu ,  
 nephew-my-Dat him-Gen nephew-my-Dat him-Gen daughter him-Gen

*My mother's mother's brother. That 'uncle' (especially the husband of mother's mother's brother's daughter, i.e. actual or prospective wife's father). His (the bridegroom's) mother-in-law sits there (i.e. is married to the 'uncle' in question). (I) will give my (female) child to my 'uncle'. Perhaps after that he will likewise speak, his daughter is (reserved) for his 'nephew'.*

2) gurupa-ŋ + nu gurupa-ŋ + nu + ña + ŋay , ŋan-ŋu gapiri-ŋ?-ŋa  
 give-Pr now him he him-Gen nephew-my-Acc  
 + ya , ŋuki ŋan-ŋu yu:ʒu ŋan-ŋu gaykay-ɖu , ŋanu-kunŋu-pi , ŋun?-ŋiri  
 that him-Gen child him-Gen uncle-Erg him-Orig-Emph there  
 + ŋay ŋi:na-Ø ŋan-ŋu gurun , ŋun?-ŋiri + ɖi ya ŋan-ŋu gaykay-ŋaŋa ,  
 she sit-Pr him-Gen MoMoBrDa there him-Gen uncle-Loc  
 ŋan-ŋu gaykay-gala + ya , ŋan-ŋu gaykay-gala , ŋi:na-Ø + ŋa  
 him-Gen uncle-LocIncr him-Gen uncle-LocIncr sit-Pr  
 ŋun?-ŋiri + ɖi ŋan-ŋu gurun , ŋan-ŋu ɖa:wu? .  
 him-Gen MoMoBrDa him-Gen bestowed

*He gives it to him now. The 'uncle' gives his daughter to his 'nephew', his very own (daughter). His (the bridegroom's) mother-in-law is there, (is living) there with the 'uncle', at the 'uncle's' camp. The mother-in-law is living there, the bestowed (mother-in-law).*

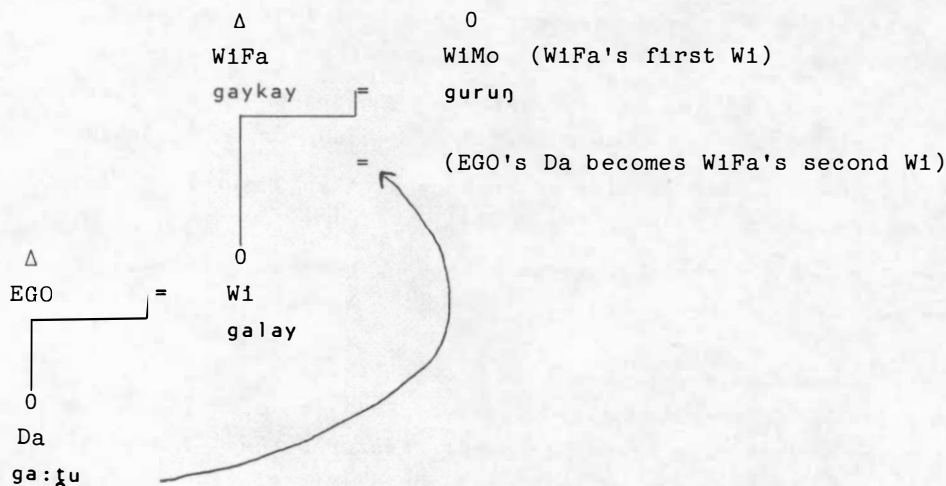
COMMENTS: The text is somewhat garbled because of shifts in pronoun from 1Sg to 3Sg, referring to the 'nephew'. The basic point is that

EGO (the 'nephew') and a man whom he calls 'uncle' (the term applied to mother's brother, etc.) exchange daughters. If the 'uncle' is the father of EGO's first wife, then of course EGO cannot reciprocate until that wife bears children, and if the daughters are in fact given as wives to the 'uncle' they will be his junior (not first) wives. The text (and ensuing discussion between the linguist and the speaker) show that there is at least a weak ideology of exchange (here daughter exchange), in contrast to the non-exchange ideology reported for Yuulngu (Murngin) groups further north. This is also suggested by the self-reciprocal use of Ritharngu *gurun son-in-law, mother-in-law, mother-in-law's brother, etc.*, whereas to the north there are distinct terms for wife-givers and wife-takers.

The use of first person possessive -ŋ? with kin terms which have third person EGO of reference and even accompanying third person genitive pronouns (*gapiri-ŋ?-gu + ɲan-ŋu* in 35.1, etc.) is found fairly often in texts from this speaker.

Daughter-exchange is shown in Figure T-2. For another reference to daughter-exchange cf. Text 36.4.

FIGURE T-2



## Text 36 (Willy)

## POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGE

- 1) nukı + ya , nukı + ya ɣan-ɣu yapa                      ɣi:na-Ø-ɣu ɣa:ɣili  
       that                                      him-Gen elder sister sit-Pr-Sub previously  
 + ya ɣan-ɣu ɣuway-gala        + maɣɗa-ɣu ,    ɣan-ɣu ɣuway-gala ,  
       him-Gen husband-LocIncr    them(Du)-Gen  
 ɣan-ɣu yapa + ɣan-ɣu ɣa:ɣili    ɣi:na-Ø-ɣu , ɣa + ya bulu nukı + ya  
    previously                      she            again that  
 ɣuɣa-n-ɣu    wa:ni-Ø-ɣu + ya , " ɣi:        + ña ma:ra-wu + nu yaku + ya",  
 grow-Pr-Sub go-Pr-Sub                      you(Sg)    her get-Fut        now this

*When the elder sister is living (with her husband) initially, with their (of the two sisters) husband, when the elder sister has been living (there) first, then she (the younger sister) grows up, (their father tells the older sister:) 'You get this (younger sister of yours)!'*

- 2) ɣan-ɣu yapa-li                      + ya , baɣ + ña + ɣay , ɣum-bili manapa-ɣ  
       her-Gen elder sister-Erg                      get    her    she    that way mix-Pr  
 ɣan-ɣu ɣuway-gala-li? ,    ɣan-ɣu ɣuruɣ-ɣu  
 her-Gen husband-LocIncr-All his-Gen father-in-law-Erg  
 maɣɗa-ɣ-gulu-y                      ɣan-ɣu ɣuɣa-ɣa        + ya , ɣan-ɣu  
 them(Du)-Aug-LocIncr-Erg    him-Gen daughter-Acc                      him-Gen  
 yapa-y                      + ña + ɣay baɣ + nu , ɣu:ra-Ø + nu ɣali ,  
 elder sister-Erg    her    she get    now sleep-Pr    now they  
 bili    ɣan-ɣu bulal-ɣi-ri + nu nukı + ɣi + ya , ɣi:ɣ? + ja  
 finish him-Gen two-Inch-Pr    now that                      woman  
 ɣan-ɣu + ya , ɣan-ɣu ɣuway-gu    + ya , ɣan-ɣu ɣuruɣ-gu        + ya ,  
 him-Gen                      her-Gen husband-Gen                      her-Gen son-in-law-Gen

*The elder sister gets her (the younger sister). His (the husband's) wife's mother puts (the two girls) in with their husband. The elder sister gets her (the younger sister), they (three) sleep (together). He has two of them, his women (wives), (women) of their husband, of her (the mother-in-law's) son-in-law.*

3) ɲuki + ya + maŋɗa + ña gurupa-ŋ-ɲu , ɲan-ɲu gaykay-ɗu ,  
 that they (Du) him give-Pr-Sub him-Gen uncle-Erg  
 bulu ɲan-ɲu gapiri-y gurupa-ŋ + nu + ña + ɲay , ɲan-ɲu gaykay  
 again him-Gen nephew-Erg give-Pr now him he him-Gen uncle  
 ɲan-ɲu-pi ɲuki ɗa:ra-Ø-ɲu , guɭun-buy ɲanu-kunɲu , ɲan-ɲu  
 him-Gen-Emph that stand-Pr-Sub belly-Assoc him-Orig him-Gen  
 gapiri-ɲa + nu + ña + ɲay gurupa-ŋ ɲan-ɲu gaykay-ɗu + ya ,  
 nephew-Acc now him he give-Pr him-Gen uncle-Erg  
 ɲan-ɲu gapiri-ɲa ,  
 him-Gen nephew-Acc

*They, his (the bridegroom's) uncle (and his wife), give (the two girls) to him, then the nephew gives (his daughter) to him (the uncle). His own uncle who is standing there, who (i.e. whose sister) gave birth to him, that uncle gives (his daughter) to his nephew.*

4) ɲa + ya bulu ɲuki + ya barku-puy + ya , ɲan-ɲu gaykay ,  
 he again that far-Assoc him-Gen uncle  
 ma:ɾi-ŋ?-guɲu + ya , ɲan-ɲu galʔɲu ma:ɾi-ʔmiriɲu ɲan-ɲu ɲuki ,  
 MoMo-my-Orig him-Gen really MoMo-own him-Gen that  
 ɲapa-li? + ɲanu-kala-li? + ɲay , ɲuki + ña + ɲay gurupa-ŋ  
 backbone-All him-LocIncr-All he that him he give-Pr  
 ɲan-ɲu gaykay-ɲa + ya ɲan-ɲu gapiri-y + ya , gurupa-ŋ + ña  
 him-Gen uncle-Acc him-Gen nephew-Erg give-Pr him  
 + ɲay , ɲan-ɲu gaykay-ɲa + ya ,  
 he him-Gen uncle-Acc

*Then there is the distant 'uncle', (the son) of the mother's mother, that full (actual) mother's mother (here referring to mother's mother's sister), the one whom (he climbed up) onto the backbone of. (This is an expression specifying actual rather than distant mother's mother.) The nephew gives (his daughter) to his uncle. He gives (her) to his uncle.*

COMMENTS: In theory, when the eldest sister is bestowed on a particular husband, all of her younger sisters are expected to eventually be given to the same man. In 36.3 and 36.4 there is another reference to daughter-exchange between an 'uncle' and 'nephew' (sister's son).

At the beginning of 36.4 it appears that the speaker meant that the 'uncle' in question is not the actual mother's brother (hence is 'distant' rather than 'close'), and is perhaps the son of a mother's mother's sister. In 36.4 the speaker used first person possessive -ŋ?- in the third person form (ma:ɾi-ŋ?-guŋu).

## Text 37 (Willy)

## MOURNING PRACTICES

- 1) ŋuki + ya bulu + ŋay finish-u-n-ŋu , ŋan-ŋu wa:wa + ya ,  
*that again he die-Them-Pr-Sub him-Gen elder brother*  
 guyupa-Ø-ŋu + ŋay , ŋa + ya ŋi:na-Ø + nu , garam + ŋan-ŋu + ɖali  
*die-Pr-Sub die she sit-Pr now string her-Dat they*  
 ŋal?-ma-ŋ , garam + ŋan-nu + ɖali ŋal?-ma-ŋ guɭuk-li? ,  
*go up-Caus-Pr throat-All*  
 yurk-ɖara-Ø + ɬa? + ŋay ma:m?-bu-n-ŋu + ŋay ,  
*be secluded-Aux-Pr for while she appear-Them-Pr-Sub she*  
 ga:na-ŋuɾu? , ɖaɖa?-yu-n + nu + ña + ɖali , garam + ŋan-ŋu  
*isolated-Abl purify-Them-Pr now string her-Dat*  
 + ɖali -- ŋal?-ma-ŋ + nu + ŋan-ŋu + ɖali garam ,  
*they go up-Caus-Pr now her-Dat they string*

Furthermore, when he (a man) dies, when her (a woman's) older brother dies, she sits (there). They put a (mourning) string on her, they put it around her neck (throat). She goes into seclusion for a while. When she comes out from the isolated place, they purify her (ritually). They put string on her.

- 2) yark ɖut + nu + ɖali , waraŋul + nu + ŋay wa:ni-Ø ,  
*leave sit now they out of seclusion now she go-Pr*  
 ŋan-ŋu guɬa ŋan-ŋu guyupa-Ø-ŋu , ŋan-ŋu ɖuway  
*her-Gen younger brother her-Gen die-Pr-Sub her-Gen husband*  
 ŋuŋu-n?-gu + ɖi + ya , ɭami-ŋulɕi-ŋu + ya , mil-jiw? ŋuki +  
*that-Aug-Gen widow tabooed that*  
 ɖi + ya , ŋi:na-Ø + nu + ŋay , ɖaɖa?-yu-n + nu + ña + ɖali  
*sit-Pr now she purify-Them-Pr now her they*  
 ɖaɖa?-yu-n + nu + ɬa? + nu ma:m? , ɖaɖa?-yu-n + nu  
*purify-Them-Pr now for while now appear purify-Them-Pr now*

+ ña + gali , bungul + gali wakal?-yu-n + ja , ñal?-ma-ñ  
 her they corroborate they play-Them-Pr go up-Caus-Pr  
 + nu + ñan-ñu + gali garam + nu , guḷuk-li? .  
 now her-Dat they string now throat-All

*They go away and sit (after finishing the ritual). She is now out of seclusion. When her younger brother dies, or that (woman's) husband, the widow - she is tabooed (sacred because of his death) - , she sits (there) then and they purify her. They purify her for a while, then she comes out (of seclusion). They purify her, they perform corroborates (dancing and singing). They put string around her neck.*

COMMENTS: The purification ritual, performed after all deaths, involves singing and dancing with small burning branches. The ritual accomplishes the purification of the widow and other close relatives, the dwelling of the deceased (since under modern settlement conditions it cannot be destroyed), and any possessions of the deceased which are not destroyed. The term *mil-jiw?* describes the sacred (taboo) status of the persons and objects prior to the purification ritual. A woman may wear a lightweight string necklace permanently on the death of her (first) husband.

## Text 38 (Willy)

## SORCERY

1) wa:ni-ña + ñay , ña + ya gukari-ña , gukari-na + ñay , ñula  
 go-Pa he he hunt-Pa hunt-Pa he whatever  
 + nu + ñay guya-kuru? , ña + ya ñan-ñu ña + ya ñan-ñu bi:-ñuḷu?  
 now he fish-Per he him-Dat he him-Dat somewhere-  
 + ñay wa:ni-Ø + nu yu:l-ñu , galka? , galka? + ya + ñan-ñu  
 from he go-Pr now person-Ø warrior him-Dat  
 wa:ni-ña + ya yurk + ñan-ñu + ñay , wa:ni-ña + nu + ñay  
 go-Pa ambush him-Dat he go-Pa now he  
 barč-u-na + ñay wa:ni-ña + ya , barč-u-na + nu + ñay  
 spear-Them-Pa he go-Pa spear-Them-Pa now he  
 wa:ni-ña + ya ,  
 go-Pa

*He (one man) would go, he went hunting - anything, for (among) fish (for example). Meanwhile a man came for him, from some distant place, a warrior (i.e. a man temporarily on a warfare expedition). The warrior would go for him, he would lie in ambush for him. He went and speared him. He went and speared him.*

2) walma?-na + ɲay , ɲa + ya + ɲan-ɲu ɲuɲ?-ɲiɾi + ɖi + nu , gana  
 go up-Pa he he him-Dat there now so  
 + ɲay ɲi:ɲa-ɲu + ya , guɾɿa + ya ɲanapa-laɾa-ɲu + ya , ɲay + ɲa  
 he sit-Pa-Sub fire build fire-Pa-Sub he him  
 ɭa-na + nu , ɭa-na + nu + ɲa + ɲay , guyupa-na + ɲay ,  
 spear-Pa now now him he die-Pa he  
 guyupa-na + nu + ɲay , galk-u-na + ɲa + ɲay , ba:ri guɾɿa-ɖu  
 die-Pa now he hold-Them-Pa him he maybe fire-Inst  
 + nu + ɲa + ɲa baɿa-na ,  
 now him he burn-Pa

*He (the killer) went up (a slope) for him there. Sitting there, and building a fire, he speared him. He died. He (the killer) took care of (held) him. Perhaps he burned him with fire (i.e. held a spear blade in fire, then used it to seal the man's outer wounds).*

3) " yuɾ?-yu-ru + ɲi: " , waɲa-ɲa + nu + ɲa + ɲay ,  
 get up-Them-Fut you(Sg) speak-Pa now him he  
 " yuɾ?-yu-ru + ɲi: " , yark-u-na + ɲan-ɲu + ɲay ɖa:r-ɲana barku ,  
 leave-Them-Pa him-Dat he stand-Pa far  
 yuɾ?-na-ɲu + ɲay warja?-yu-na-ɲu + ɲay warja?-yu-na + nu + ɲa  
 get up-Pa-Sub he look-Them-Pa-Sub he look-Them-Pa now him  
 + ɲay , warja?-yu-na + ɲa + ɲay , ɲa + ya + ɲan-ɲu ma:m?-bu-na  
 he look-Them-Pa him he he him-Dat appear-Them-Pa  
 + nu , ma:m?-bu-na + ɲan-ɲu + ɲay ,  
 now him-Dat he

*(The killer told the victim,) 'Get up!' He spoke to him, 'Get up!'*  
*He (the killer) went away and stopped some distance away. He (the victim) got up and looked around (i.e. was conscious). He looked around. Then he (the killer) came out to him.*



4) walŋa-ŋi-na + nu ŋuki + di + ya + ŋay la-na-puy + ya ,  
 alive-Inch-Pa now that he spear-Pa-Assoc  
 walŋa-ŋi-na + nu + ŋay , galka?-du + ña + ŋay la-na-ŋu ,  
 warrior-Erg him he spear-Pa-Sub  
 baman , galka? + ŋay barku-puy wa:ni-ña , baŋa-na + ya + ña  
 long time warrior he far-Assoc go-Pa burn-Pa him  
 ŋay ja:!? baŋa-na + ña + ŋay guŋa-y , yur? + ŋay , walŋa + nu  
 he puncture burn-Pa him he fire-Inst get up he alive now  
 ŋay wa:ni-ña ,  
 he go-Pa

*He was (apparently) alive, that man who had been speared. He was still alive, the one whom the warrior had speared. For quite a while (several days). The warrior went far away. He had burned (i.e. closed up) the puncture, he had burned it with fire. He (the victim) got up and went around, alive.*

5) guya + ya + ŋa baŋ wa:ŋa-li? + nu + ŋay baŋgu!? , ŋi:na-ŋa + nu  
 fish he get camp-All now he return sit-Pa now  
 + ŋay , ŋu:r-ŋana --, ŋu:ra-ŋa + nu + ŋay , bulu + ŋay ŋu:r-ŋana ,  
 he sleep-Pa sleep-Pa now he again he sleep-Pa  
 bulu + ŋay ŋu:ra-ŋa , ŋuki + ya + ŋa ma:-na + nu , guŋ-u-na  
 again he sleep-Pa that he get-Pa now be sick-Them-Pa  
 + nu + ŋay , ŋurka-ŋa-mi-ña + nu + ŋa::y ,  
 now he throw-Aug-Refl-Pa now he

*He (the victim) caught fish and returned to the camp. He sat there then. He slept (i.e. one night passed). Again he slept. Again he slept. He got that (sickness) then. He was sick then. He was dying ('throwing himself') then.*

6) galki-ŋi-na + ŋan-ŋu , ŋu:y ɠawaŋ?-na-ŋu + ya + ŋay , ŋu:y  
 nearby-Inch-Pa him-Dat heart finish-Pa-Sub he  
 ɠawaŋ?-na-ŋu + ya + ŋay bala ŋurka-ŋa-mi-ña + nu ,  
 that way throw-Aug-Refl-Pa now  
 bala + nu + ya + ŋay ŋuki + ya guyupa-na wa:ŋa-ŋaŋa ŋuŋ?-ŋaŋa  
 that way now he that die-Pa camp-Loc there

yu:l-ŋaŋa , muga !urkun?-miri , ŋu:ra-ŋa + ya + ŋay , gu:ŋ-guru?  
 person-Loc night few-Prop sleep-Pa he hand-Per  
 wiḍipiyan?-guru? , ŋu:r-ŋana + ya + ŋay ,  
 one-Per sleep-Pa he

*It (death) was close to him. His heart was failing, he was in death agony. Then he died there in the camp, among the (other) people. A few nights (after being speared) he slept there, (perhaps) six he slept (there).*

7) guḍarpuy + ŋan-ŋu + ŋa gawaŋ?-na-ŋu + ya , guyupa-na + nu + ŋay ,  
 next day him-Dat he dawn-Pa-Sub die-Pa now he  
 galk-u-na + ña + ḡali , bala + ña + ḡali ga:-ŋa + nu  
 keep-Them-Pa him they that way him they carry-Pa now  
 gawuk-u-na + nu + ña + ḡali , ḡali + ya bulu wa:ni-ñā + nu  
 bury-Them-Pa now him they they again go-Pa now  
 bi:-wala ḡawal-wiḗipu-li? , yu:l-wač + ja , gu!ku + ya , ŋuki  
 somewhere-Dir country-other-All person-Pl many that  
 + ña + ḡali bay?-yu-na + nu , bala + nu + ña + ḡali  
 him they leave-Them-Pa now that way now him they  
 gabuk-u-na ŋuki + ya , ba:nu + ŋa ŋu:ra-ŋa .  
 bury-Them-Pa that left alone he lie down-Pa

*When the next day dawned, he died. They took care of him (i.e. his burial). They took him that way and buried him. They then went to some faraway place, to another country - a big group of people. They left him (the corpse). They buried him there and left him lying there.*

COMMENTS: This is not a description of a (supposed) actual event, rather a general description of how sorcery is thought to have been formerly practised. The murderer would spear the victim, often while he slept, and would then seal up the wound by touching it with the blade of a shovel spear which had been held in a flame. The victim, not realising what had happened, would wake up and appear alive, but in a few days would become sick and die.

## Text 39 (Willy)

## CIRCUMCISION

1) wakal?-yu-na + nu + ḡan-ḡu + ḡali , ḡan-ḡu ḡa:ḡḡi + ya ,  
 play-Them-Pa now him-Dat they him-Gen mother  
 ḡan-ḡu ba:pa + ya wakal?-yu-na + nu + ḡan-ḡu + maḡḡa , ḡa + ya  
 him-Gen father play-Them-Pa now him-Dat they(Du) he  
 laḡaḡa-ḡa ḡan-ḡu ba:pa-li + ya , ḡa + ya ḡan-ḡu ḡa:ḡḡi  
 tell-Pa him-Gen father-Erg she him-Gen mother  
 wakal?-na , ḡan-ḡu ḡa:ḡḡi wakal?-na , ga:ḡuḡa + nu yaḡu-n?-ḡu  
 play-Pa him-Gen mother play-Pa today now this-Aug-Erg/Inst  
 + ḡi , gaḡaḡ? + ḡay , gaḡaḡ? + nu + ḡay mutbu-ḡa + nu + ḡa +  
 dawn he dawn now it gather-Pa now him  
 ḡay yu:l-ḡu + ya , " bala + ḡa ga:ḡuḡa + ḡa + lima  
 he person-Ø that way him today him we(PlIn)  
 ḡaramu-ḡa-ḡu + ya , ga:ḡuḡa + ḡa + lima ḡaramu-ḡa-ḡu yaḡu-n?-ḡu + ḡi  
 man-Fact-Fut  
 + nu " .  
 now

*They danced (played). His mother and father danced for him. His father told him. His mother danced. That same day this (man circumcised him). It dawned. It dawned and he (the father) gathered the people. 'We will make him a man today. This (man) will make him a man today.'*

2) mutbu-ḡa-mi-ḡa + nu + ḡali ḡarpal-miri + ya + nu yu:l-ḡu  
 gather-Aug-Recip-Pa now they many-Prop now person-Ø  
 + ya , ḡurka-ḡa + nu + ḡa + ḡali , ḡuḡun-li? + ḡa + ḡali  
 throw-Pa now him they belly-All him they  
 ḡulḡa-ḡa + ya , ḡa + ya + ḡali-ḡa ḡaḡa-laḡa ḡilkuru-waḡ-ḡu ,  
 put down-Pa he them-Acc hold-Pa big-Pl-Erg  
 ḡa + ya biḡkar?-na + nu , ḡu:wa + ya , ḡa + ya ḡunbuḡ?-na ,  
 he chant-Pa now moiety name he chant-Pa  
 ḡu:wa-gu + ya , ḡaramu-wu , ḡaḡaku , ḡaḡaku + ya ,  
 moiety name-Dat man-Dat uncircumcised

*They assembled (gathered each other) then, there was a big group of people. They threw him (the novice) down, they put him on the belly (of a man who was lying on the ground face up - this man held the novice while the operation was performed). The elder held them (several novices). He (someone else) performed ceremonial chanting of the birkar? type (for novices of the yiriča moiety); (if the novice was) of the ɖu:wa moiety, he (a ɖu:wa chanter) chanted in the gunbur? style, for a ɖu:wa man, (for a ɖu:wa) uncircumcised boy.*

3) baman + ja ɖilkuru-ŋu + ya , gunbur?-na + nu + ŋay ,  
 long time big-Ø chant-Pa now he  
 yay?-yu-na + ŋan-ŋu + ɖali , ɖali + ya yuɥ-ɖu-na  
 call out 'yay'-Them-Pa him-Dat they they run-Them-Pa  
 + nu burkunun + ɖali + ya yuɥ-ɖu-na , ɖi:ŋ?-wač + ja ,  
 now type of dance they run-Them-Pa woman-Pl  
 ɖilkuru-ŋu + ya , ŋan-ŋu mu:kul ŋan-ŋu yapa ,  
 big-Ø him-Gen aunt elder sister

*Long ago, the old ('big') people. He (one of the men) chanted, and they (other men) called out 'yay!' (a kind of chorus shout uttered at certain points in the chanting). They ran (around) then, the women performed the burkunun dance (running and dancing in a circle around the men), the old people. His aunt (father's sister), his elder sister (and others).*

4) ŋa + ya ŋan-ŋu yapa + ya ɖut + ŋa ŋi:na-ŋa , ba:ka +  
 she him-Gen elder sister sit she sit-Pa calf  
 ŋan-ŋu + ŋa ɖak-u-n-mi-ña , ŋan-ŋu yapa + ya ,  
 him-Dat she cut-Them-Aug-Refl-Pa him-Gen elder sister  
 maŋɖa ba:ka , ŋan-ŋu yapa-?miriŋu + ŋan-ŋu , ŋan-ŋu  
 they(Du) calf him-Gen elder sister-own him-Gen him-Gen  
 ŋa:ŋɖi-li + maŋɖa-ŋa + ŋa ɖulɖa-wala-ŋu wiɖipiyan?-ɖu maŋɖa-ŋu  
 mother-Erg them(Du)-Acc she put down-Pa-Sub one-Erg them(Du)-Gen  
 + nu ŋa:ŋɖi-ŋ? + ja , ŋan-ŋu ŋa:ŋɖi + ya maŋɖa-ŋu wiɖipiyan? .  
 now mother-my him-Gen mother them(Du)-Gen one

*As for his elder sister, she sat (a short distance away). She cut the calves of her legs (as a gesture of sympathy toward her brother,*

*who was being circumcised). His actual sister, his mother having borne ('put down') both of them, the same ('one') mother for them, his mother (being) the same for both of them.*

COMMENTS: Ceremonial chanting (distinct from bungul singing) is referred to by the verbs *biḱkarʔ-yu-* (for the *yiriča* moiety) or *gunbuḱʔ-yu-* (for the *ḡu:wa* moiety). The chanting is frequently punctuated by the shout 'yay!', called out by the other men engaged in the performance. At the actual circumcision, the men gather in a small area, the novice is placed face-up on top of a man who has lain down (also face-up), and this man holds the novice while another man performs the operation. The women engage at the appropriate point in the *burkunun*, which consists mainly in running in a circle around the men. The actual sister (note that the speaker specifies 'actual' here by several mechanisms such as *-ʔmiriṇu own*, the expression *maṇḡa ba:ka*, and a longer paraphrase meaning *of the same mother*) is expected to draw blood from her calves in sympathy with her brother. The term for *elder sister* (*yapa*) is used instead of the term for *younger sister* (*guḡa*) mainly because the latter term can also mean *younger brother* and the speaker wanted to specify that the sibling in question was female.

At the end of the text note again that first person possessive *-ṇʔ* shows up in *ṇa:ṇḡi-ṇʔ* although the EGO of reference is clearly third person.

## Text 40 (Willy)

## THE CHOICE OF CIRCUMCISER

ṇuki + ya ṇa + ṇay ṇan-ṇu ḡuway-ḡu                      ṇanu-kulu-y-pi  
*that                      him      he      him-Gen brother-in-law-Erg him-LocIncr-Erg-Emph*

ṇuki + ya + ṇa + ṇay , gurka guḷk-u-n ,      gurka guḷk-u-n + ṇa + ṇay  
*that                      him      he      penis cut-Them-Pa                                      him      he*

ḡaramu-ḡa-wala ṇan-ṇu ḡuway-ḡu                      ṇanu-kulu-y-pi                      ṇan-ṇu  
*man-Fact-Pa                      him-Gen brother-in-law-Erg him-LocIncr-Erg-Emph him-Gen*

yapa                      ṇi:na-Ø-ṇu ṇanu-kala .  
*elder sister sit-Pr-Sub him-LocIncr*

*That brother-in-law (sister's husband) of his, his own brother-in-law cuts his penis (in the circumcision). He holds his penis and makes him a man (circumcises him). His brother-in-law (does that), (the man) at whose camp his (the novice's) elder sister stays.*

## Text 41 (Willy) THE ROLE OF THE SISTERS' SONS (CUSTODIANS)

1) ŋuki + napu bulu gaŋa-ŋ , ŋanapulu-ŋa + ŋay ɽulŋa-ma-ŋu  
 that we(PlEx) again hold-Pr us(PlEx)-Acc it put in-Pr-Sub  
 ŋuki ɽawal-ɽu , maɽayin + ja , ɽungayɿ + napu ɽungayɿ + ŋanapu  
 that country-Erg ritual custodian we we  
 + ya , gaykay-ŋ?-gu ga ma:ɽi-ŋ?-gu , ŋuki + ya + napulu-ŋu  
 uncle-our-Dat and MoMoBr-our-Dat that us-Gen  
 ma:ɽi-ŋ? , ŋa:ŋɽi-ŋ?-gu , ŋuki + ya + napu gaŋa-ŋ , gaykay-ŋ?-gu ,  
 MoMoBr-our mother-our-Dat that we hold-Pr uncle-our-Dat  
 ŋuki + ya + napu gaŋa-ŋ , law , maɽayin + ja ,  
 traditions ritual

*We hold (take care of) that (the mother's and mother's brother's country). It (the mother's country) puts us in (i.e. we are custodians for it). We are custodians for our mother's brothers and for our mother's mother's brothers. We hold the 'law' (traditions and customs) and ritual from our mother and mother's brother.*

2) ŋanapulu-ŋu + ya ɽuwur + ŋa ŋu:ra-Ø , maɽayin , ŋaŋi-ŋ?-gu ,  
 us(PlEx)-Dat business it lie down-Pr ritual MoFa-our-Dat  
 ŋuki + ya + napulu-ŋu bulu ba:pa-ŋ?-gu + ya , ŋanapulu-ŋu bu:kmak ,  
 that us-Dat again father-our-Dat us-Dat everyone  
 ba:pa-ŋ?-gu + ya , ŋanapulu-ŋu + ɽi bu:kmak , maɽayin + ja +  
 father-our-Gen us-Dat everyone ritual  
 napulu-ŋu , gaykay-ŋ?-gu , ba:pa-ŋ?-gu , ma:ɽi-ŋ?-gu .  
 us-Dat uncle-our-Gen father-our-Gen MoMoBr-our-Gen

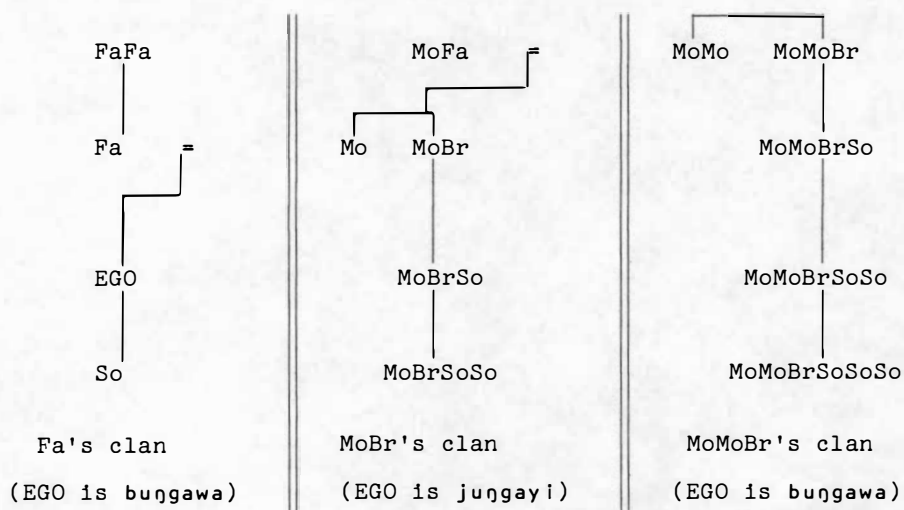
*The business (i.e. traditions) are for us, the ritual, of our mother's father (the senior man in the mother's patriline). Those (traditions) of our father (i.e. of our own clan) are for us, for us all. (Traditions) of our father, for all of us. The ritual is for us, (those) of our mother's brother, our father, and our mother's mother's brother.*

COMMENTS: A man has significant ritual, and to some extent political, rights and duties with respect to three patrilines: his own (i.e. that of his father and father's father), that of his mother (and mother's

brother and mother's father), and that of his mother's mother's brother. He is called *jungayi custodian*, *manager* of the rituals and country of the mother's clan, and has certain specific duties in this respect (e.g. painting the totemic designs on men of that clan). He is called *bungawa owner*, *boss* of his own clan, and this term can also be applied to his relationship to the mother's mother's brother's clan (which is in the same moiety). In many cases the traditions and rituals of the father's clan and the mother's mother's brother's clan are closely intertwined anyway (because nearby clans of the same moiety often have similar totems, ritual songs, etc.).

It is important to note that although some of these relationships between a man and a clan are defined by matrilineal links, the entity to which the man is related is a *patriclan* (i.e. a series of patrilineal lines) as a whole. See Figure T-3.

FIGURE T-3







## RITHARNGU-ENGLISH DICTIONARY AND SUPPLEMENTS

### Introduction

The Ritharngu-English Dictionary is based on the following alphabetical order: a and a:, b, č, d, ɖ, ɗ, e, g, i and i:, j, k, l, ɭ, m, n, ŋ, ɲ, ñ, ŋ, o, p, r, ɾ, t, ʈ, ʞ, u and u:, w, y. Vowel-length is disregarded in alphabetical ordering, so that hypothetical words \*ba:ta and \*bata would be adjacent entries, both directly following \*ba:ra and \*bara and both preceding \*ba:ta and \*baṭa.

Each entry is followed by an abbreviation indicating word-class status (see List of Abbreviations). Thus *V5intr* indicates that the stem is a verb, belongs to inflectional class 5, and is intransitive.

Where no qualifying word such as *probably* or *perhaps* is given, scientific identifications provided for flora and fauna terms should be ninety per cent accurate in the context of 1975 taxonomy. Scientific names are omitted for birds and some other groups of fauna where common terms are well-known and established, so that adding scientific names would not contribute anything. Interested readers can obtain scientific names from the common names by consulting the standard guides.

The dictionary could certainly be expanded and modified by future fieldwork by myself or others, and I do not claim that all transcriptions are accurate. I would think that the most likely errors are those involving vowel-length in initial syllables, and especially in monosyllables. This is rather difficult to hear in some contexts, and I felt that there was some idiolectal variation and perhaps even some intra-idiolectal variation in phonetic vowel-length. However, length is certainly at least potentially distinctive, and there are some clear minimal pairs such as *waŋa-Ø speaks* and *wa:ŋa camp*. There are possibly a few other 'errors' (either mistranscriptions by me, or 'mispronunciations' by an informant) involving presence or absence of

stem-final glottal stops. I doubt there are many transcriptional errors involving other consonants and vowels.

Despite the admission of fallibility with respect to vowel-length, I wish to point out that there are several clear instances where Ritharngu and Nunggubuyu disagree in length: Ritharngu *ḡa:ŋgu* vs. Nunggubuyu *ḡangu meat*, Ritharngu *ŋu:kaʔ* vs. Nunggubuyu *ŋuga stone*, Ritharngu *ḡaraʔ* vs. Nunggubuyu *ḡa:rag coffin* (cf. Nunggubuyu *ḡarag quinine bush* matching Ritharngu *ḡarawʔ*). In many other instances, however, the two languages agree.

Ritharngu-Ngandi shared vocabulary items are noted in my Ngandi publications and are not repeated here. Some Ritharngu-Nunggubuyu sharings are noted in this dictionary. They are labelled *Cogn.* (cognate) regardless of whether they represent common retention of ancient stems or are recently diffused areal vocabulary; almost all except *bu-* *to hit* and one or two other monosyllabic verb stems are of the latter type.

The dictionary is followed by a series of lists of Ritharngu nouns grouped according to semantic domain. The only domains represented are flora-fauna and human body parts (and excretions). Other important vocabulary items are represented in the English-Ritharngu index which follows; this index does not include flora-fauna or body-part terms.

It is my intention to compile a list of corrections and addenda to this dictionary if future fieldwork occurs. I would be happy to receive data from other linguists or anthropologists and will try to incorporate them into the list.

I thank Neville Scarlett, an ethnobotanist, for clarifying or providing identifications of some flora spp., and specific identifications due to him are acknowledged in dictionary entries. Most identifications, however, are based on my own knowledge of flora in the area (especially around Numbulwar and Ngukurr), which I have acquired thanks largely to the staff of the N.T. Herbarium in Darwin and of the Herbarium Australiense in Canberra.

# List of Abbreviations

<i>Abl</i>	Ablative	<i>Inch</i>	Inchoative
<i>Acc</i>	Accusative	<i>Incr</i>	Increment
<i>All</i>	Allative	<i>Infin</i>	Infinitive
<i>Adv</i>	Adverb	<i>Inst</i>	Instrumental
<i>Assoc</i>	Associative	<i>intr</i>	intransitive
<i>Aug</i>	Augment	<i>irreg</i>	irregular
<i>Aux</i>	Auxiliary	<i>Loc</i>	Locative
<i>Caus</i>	Causative	<i>LocIncr</i>	Locative Increment
<i>cf.</i>	compare	<i>N</i>	Noun
<i>Cogn</i>	cognate	<i>Nom</i>	Nominalisation
<i>Com</i>	Comitative	<i>Nungg</i>	Nunggubuyu (language)
<i>Corr</i>	correlate with	<i>Orig</i>	Originative
<i>cpd</i>	compound	<i>Pa</i>	Past
<i>Dat</i>	Dative	<i>Part</i>	Particle
<i>Dir</i>	Directional	<i>Per</i>	Pergressive
<i>Du</i>	Dual	<i>Pl</i>	Plural
<i>Emph</i>	Emphatic	<i>pl.n.</i>	place name
<i>Erg</i>	Ergative	<i>Pot</i>	Potential
<i>ex.</i>	example	<i>Pr, Pres</i>	Present
<i>Fact</i>	Factitive	<i>Prop</i>	Proprietative
<i>Fut</i>	Future	<i>Rdp</i>	Reduplication
<i>Gen</i>	Genitive	<i>Recip</i>	Reciprocal
<i>In</i>	Inclusive	<i>Refl</i>	Reflexive

*Rel* Relative  
*Rith* Ritharngu  
*Sg* Singular  
*Simil* Similative  
*sp.* species  
*spp.* species (pl.)

*Sub* Subordinator  
*Syn* Synonym  
*Temp* Temporal  
*Them* Thematising Increment  
*tr* transitive  
*v* Verb







## B

- ba:ba? *N* 'apple' (edible wasp gall) on bloodwood (gumu!u?).
- bačbara? *N* pandanus mat.
- ba:ču? *N* 1. yamstick. *Syn* gu:na?  
2. a tree whose wood is made into yamsticks, *Pemphis acidula*.
- bađač-u- *V5tr* to miss (e.g. in shooting or playing didjeridu).
- bađagulu? *N* a large tree from whose wood didgeridus are made, probably rough-barked bloodwood.
- bađakawk *N* jungle-fowl (bird).  
*Syn* waykađa.
- bađaťar *N* a large rock goanna, *Varanus glebopalma*. *Syn* biřim.
- bađay *N* banyan tree, *Ficus virens*.  
*Syn* jaňba (more common term).
- bađikan *N* sulphur-crested cockatoo.  
*Syn* ma:rpu?, etc.
- ba:gay *N* south. ba:ga-la southward.
- ba:guřu *N* string headband.
- ba:ka *N* lower leg, especially the shin bone.
- baka? *N* spear with two hooked wooden prongs. *Syn* ma:kur.
- bakara *N* long-necked freshwater tortoise, *Chelodina rugosa* or a closely-related sp. *Cf.* janga.
- bakbir? *N* brownish ground frog.  
*Syn* wu:kařa.
- bak-u- *V5intr* to break off, to become broken off. *Caus*  
bak-(u-n-)mařa- to break off.
- bakuňbakuň *N* large frog in grass or hollow trees.
- ba:l *N* firewood.
- bala- *Prf* side. bala-wiřipu *N* other side. For other combinations *cf.* second element.
- bala *Adv* that way. (Short form of gum-bala.)
- bala? *N* iron, metal.
- balađarđar?, balađarkđark *N* freshwater fish sp.
- balaka *N* share, portion (especially of food).
- balakiriň? *N* that kind of thing.  
*Cf.* !akiriň?
- balali *N* strong west wind.  
*Syn* guđuwuru. *Cf.* ba:ra?, jičiwuřu.
- balamuru? *N* hook spear, especially one with hooks on both sides.
- balanda *N* White (person).  
*Syn* munaňa.
- balanu *Adv* forever, for good.
- balaň *N* name of a subsection (masc.). *Fem.* biliňjan?
- balar *N* march fly. *Syn* đalpa?
- ba:lay? away, gone away.  
ba:lay? + ňay He is (gone) away.
- ba:lim?-bu- *V5tr* to boil (loanword).
- balin *N* barramundi, *Lates calcarifer*. *Syn* miriči.
- balkač *N* backbone.
- balkaľ *N* root of water lily, *Nymphaea ?gigantea*, found in deep water in billabongs. The root is irregularly shaped and may float.
- balkay *N* urine.
- balkič *N* male agile (sandy) wallaby (baranggal).  
*Syn* jitbi!iri, etc.
- balkiň *N* bitter- or sharp-tasting. (Uncommon word)

- obtained from Wa:gilak informant, not recognised by Maɟarpa informants.)
- balk-mara- *Vtr* (with ma:ra-) to take away.
- balku *N* string. *Syn* garam.
- balmaŋ? *N* tree with edible plums and gum, also a useful sap, *Terminalia carpentariae*. *Cf.* murpun?, mapuɟumun?.
- balpaɾa *N* companion, mate. balpaɾa-miɾiw lacking companions.
- balpaɾa?-yu- *V5intr/tr* to accompany. balpaɾa?-yu-n + ɲu-na + ɲay He is accompanying you. *Cf.* balpaɾa.
- balɬar *N* leg; branch.
- bal?-yu- *V5tr* to pound. *Cf.* baɾpu-.
- baɭal?-yu- *V5intr* 1. to go down. 2. to veer off, to change direction.
- baɭara? *N* a wattle with edible gum, *Acacia torulosa*. (Contrast Nunggubuyu baɭara 'Acacia difficilis'.)
- baɭgur *N* a type of kurrajong tree, *Brachychiton paradoxum*. *Cf.* jirpaɭ. baɭgur-ɲiniŋ *N* snake sp. found in trees.
- baɭkbaɭk *N* a tree with edible nuts, *Sterculia quadrifida*. *Syn* mabaɭki, mapaɭki?.
- baɭmark *N* northwest wind.
- baɭpaɭ? *N* a large burrawong (cycad palm), *Cycas* sp. Less common than ɲaɭu.
- baɭ?-yu- *V5intr* to hide, to go into hiding.
- baman *N/Adv* long time; long ago. Also baman?-buy.
- bambaɾkbambaɾk *N* black and silver ant sp., *Polyrachis* sp.
- bambay *N* blind. Also mi:l-bambay.
- Inch* bambay-ɬi- to become blind.
- ba:mbiɬ *N* grass sp. sucked for sweet liquid, *Heteropogon* sp. *Syn* ɲuŋjilk.
- bambiligat *N* 1. canvass, calico. 2. house, dwelling.
- ba:mbu? *N* shrub sp.
- bambulk *N* a plant with large edible root, probably *Amorphophallus variabilis*.
- bambum?-bu- *V5tr* to knock, to bump into (loanword).
- bamjirbi?, bamjirwi? *N* female euro (murpunguɭa). *Syn* bayir.
- bamutuka? *N* long wooden pipe. *Syn* ma:ta, ɭarwa.
- banbuɭara *N* a cloverlike flower, *Gomphrena* sp. Also banbuɭiriɭiri. *Cf.* ganbukbuk.
- banbuɭiriɭiri *N* *Cf.* banbuɭara.
- bandayama? *N* 1. lightning. 2. gecko lizards, which are associated with lightning in myths. *Syn* ɾamiŋji/yamiŋji, maykaraŋ?.
- banguɕa *N* large, dangerous marine shark. *Syn* buɭ?maji. *Cf.* jinma.
- banguŋa *N* large goanna, *Varanus gouldii*. *Syn* waɕuŋɟu, wukuɕ. Young: janda.
- ba:nu *N* left aside, abandoned, rejected. ba:ru + ɲay Leave it aside! Get rid of it! (This is one way of translating English 'I don't want it'.)
- ba:nu?-yu- *V5intr* to be left aside or rejected. *Cf.* ba:nu.
- baŋami *N* brolga (a type of crane). *Syn* ɲuɟurku.
- baŋaŋak *N* a shrub with small needle-like leaves. Refers primarily to *Calytrix exstipulata* (*C. microphylla*).

- bañar? *N* marble tree, *Owenia vernicosa*. (Not *Petalostigma pubescens*, another 'marble tree'.) *Syn* jingirič. Fruit: ɲaɲa?.
- baɲbalɲu *N* death adder (snake).
- baɲɖak *N* straight woomera.  
*Syn* galpu. Other type: biɖič.
- baɲɖaɲ *N* dry, arid, waterless; desert. *Inch* baɲɖaɲ-ɖi- to become arid, (water) to dry up.  
*Cf.* ɖay-u-, ɲamaɲɲ.
- baɲɖulɖakbaɲɖulɖak *N* a shrub,  
*Whrightia saligna*.
- baɲɖulu *N* walking stick.
- baɲumbir *N* 1. morning or evening star.  
2. ant lion larva (insect).  
3. starfish.
- baɲjiya, baɲjaya *Adv* behind (in position). baɲjiya + ɲay He is behind. baɲjiya-kuru? along behind. baɲjiya-kuru? + ɲay wa:ni-na He went along behind.
- baɲbaɲaɲ (rarely baɲɖaɲaɲ) *N* brain.
- baɲɖuɲi?-yu- *V5intr* to return.
- baɲɖi *N* name of a subsection (masc.). Fem. baɲɖiɲa? or baɲɲi.
- baɲɖiɲa? *N* name of a subsection (fem.). *Syn* baɲɲi. Masc. baɲɖi.
- baɲɲi *N Cf.* baɲɖiɲa?.
- bap *V* (root form only) to put down. The inflectable counterpart is ɖulɖa-.
- ba:pa *N* father. ba:pa-ɲiri?, ba:pa-ɲiri?-ɲu, or ba:pa-miɖiw fatherless.
- ba:pi *N* (any) snake. *Syn* ɖaɲarač.
- ba:puru *N* group (of people), especially a subgroup of a maɖa.
- ba:ra? *N* west or northwest wind.
- Cf.* balali, guɖuwuru, jičiɲuɲu.
- baraɖuka? *N* crocodile, especially the saltwater crocodile.
- barakaɲ? *N* a shrub from which spear shafts are made.
- baralk *N* a wattle with long flower spikes, *Acacia sp.*
- baranji? *N* a possum or possum-like animal.
- baraɲgal *N* agile (sandy) wallaby, *Macropus agilis*.  
*Cf.* balkič, guliɖiri?, jitiɖiɲiri, gambalala? (all male), jaruɖu (female), mingaraɲ (young).
- barapa *N* fresh (water).  
gapu-barapa (*cpd*) fresh water.  
*Inch* barapa-ti- (water) to become fresh.
- barawu *N* boat.
- barčaraɲ *N* a paperbark tree (*Melaleuca sp.*) found at the edges of billabongs. *Syn* batara. mala-barčaraɲ name of the Ritharngu-speaking subgroup of the Maɖarpa maɖa.
- barč-u- *V5tr* to attack with spears, to throw spears at.  
barč-u-na + ɖali-ɲa + ɖali They threw spears at them.
- ba:ri, bari *Part* maybe.
- bariɖ?bariɖ *N* rainbow bird.
- barka? *N* sawfish.
- barkan? *N* edible root, *Marsdenia* and/or *Cynanchum spp.* (*N.* Scarlett). Very similar to ya:maɲ.
- barku *N/Adv* long distance; far away. barku + nu + ɖali They are far away. barku-wala to far away. barku-wala + ɲay wa:ni-na He went far away.
- barpa *N* rotten, stale (especially of meat). mun-barpa bereaved father (*cf.* junguɲ, etc.).

- barukala? *N* paperbark. *Syn* gaja?. similar to wala? (*Eucalyptus tectifica*).
- bar-yu- Occurs in the *cpd*  
ga:-bar-yu- *V5intr* to have one's  
mouth open.
- bar?-yu- *V5intr* to rip open, to  
split. *Caus* bar?-(yu-n-)maṛa-  
to rip, to split, to slice.  
ḡat-bar?-maṛa- to spear with wire  
spear (*Syn* wurñiṛ?-maṛa-).
- baṛagar? *N* river whistling tree,  
*Casuarina cunninghamiana*. Variant  
buṛugur? (both forms probably  
borrowed from Ngandi boṛogor?).
- baṛaṅgur *N* shin-bone (especially  
of wallaby or other animal, used  
as a blade).
- baṛčar *N* small freshwater eel-  
tailed catfish, *Neosilurus sp.*  
Called aḷaḷij in Nunggubuyu.  
*Cf.* gaṅṅal, manbiṛi, jambaḷak.
- baṛič, baṛik *N* white, bright,  
light-colored. ḷiya-baṛik,  
mara-baṛik grey- or white-haired;  
old man. *Cf.* baṛ-u-, miḷič.
- baṛkuma? *N* native cat.
- baṛmurk *N* wild cucumber, *Cucumis*  
*melo*.
- baṛṅgič *N* honey bee (*Trigona sp.*),  
called ṇa:nig in Nunggubuyu.
- baṛpu- *V6tr* to pound (with a stone  
or similar object).
- baṛ-u- *V5intr* to be(come) white or  
bright. *Cf.* baṛič/baṛik.
- baṛu?-ṇu *N* many, much. In *cpds*  
may become -baṛu: wa:ṇa-baṛu or  
wa:ṇa-baṛu?-ṇu having many wives  
(‘camps’).
- batara *N* paperbark tree *sp.*  
*Syn* barčaray.
- baṭ *Vtr* (root form only) to pick  
up, grab, get. The corresponding  
inflectable verb is ma:ra-.  
baṭ + ṇa + ṇay He pick(ed) him up.  
ḡiku-baṭ to pick up something  
dead or unconscious.
- baṭbarara? *N* a tree, said to be
- baṭa- *v3tr* to burn, to cook on  
a fire; to sting. ṛaw?-baṭa-  
to scorch the fur of. bulka?-  
baṭa- to scorch the fur of.  
buypi-baṭa- to scorch, to singe  
the surface of.
- baw-u-, baw?-wu- *V5intr* (flower)  
to blossom, to bloom; to burst.  
*Caus* baw-u-n-maṛa- to crack  
(e.g. shell).
- bay? *Part* yes-or-no? (interrog-  
ative particle) ṇa:-wala + ṇa  
+ ṇi: bay? Did you see him?  
*Cf.* ḡili.
- bayak-ḡi- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ḡi-)  
to reject, to not want something.
- bayam?-bu- *V5tr* to buy, to pay  
(loanword).
- bayaṇu *Suff* Occurs in *cpds*, e.g.  
gupulu-bayaṇu fat, thick  
(gupulu body); ḡawarak-bayaṇu  
having abundant whiskers  
(ḡawarak whiskers).
- bayara *N* (deserved) reward; fair  
chance, fair go. bayara +  
ṇara-ṇa + ṇi: gurupu-lu Give me  
a fair go.
- bayaw?-wu- *V5tr* to collect  
(objects).
- bayir *N* female euro (murpunguḷa).  
bamjirbi?.
- baymaṇ? *N* a tree said to resemble  
balmaṇ? (*Terminalia*  
*carpentariae*).
- bayṇu *N* nothing.
- baypinṇa *N* Saratoga fish,  
*Scleropages jardini*.
- bay?-yu- *V5tr* to leave (behind  
or aside), to abandon.
- bi:- *Adv* Occurs in bi:-wala to  
there (indefinite distant place),  
and in bi:-ṇuṛu? from there  
(indefinite distant place).
- bi:bik, bi:biyik (also bi:wik) *N*  
black-faced cuckoo-shrike.

- biḍam *N* long-tom fish. *Syn* juka!, juṇuḍu.
- biḍibiḍi, biḍiwiḍi *N* small bird *sp.*, perhaps a robin.
- biḍič<sup>1</sup> *N* a type of woomera, longer and more curved than the type called baṇḍak. (*Cf.* next entry.)
- biḍič<sup>2</sup> *Part* nearly. biḍič + ṇay guyupa-na wa:ni-na waṭu + ya ṇan-ṇu His dog nearly died.
- biḍijir? *N* edible root, *Eriosema chinense* (N. Scarlett). *Syn* riñ?jaṇu.
- biḍil *N* leaf of water lilies.
- biḍipiḍi *N* paperbark tree found in flood plains. *Syn* diṇḍin?.
- biḍiwiḍi *N* Variant of biḍibiḍi.
- biḍi?-yu- *V5tr* to rub onto, to apply (e.g. paint) to. *Refl* biḍi?-(yu-n-)mi- to rub onto oneself.
- bijay? *N* a small goanna, dark-coloured, found in lowland plains.
- bijip-u- *V5intr* (whirlwind) to make water choppy.
- bijuḍu *N* whirlwind.
- bikaṇ *N* hook (e.g. fishhook).
- bi:la- *V6Atr* to dig; to scratch.
- bili *Part* (difficult to translate). bili + nu That's all.
- biličbilič *N* red-winged parrot.
- biliñjan? *N* name of a subsection (fem.). Masc. balaṇ.
- biṭu? *N* archer fish ('rifle fish'). *Syn* jitbiḍi, ṇatban?, waṭara?.
- bil?-yu- *V5intr* to be(come) crooked or bent; to wag tail. *Caus* bil?-(yu-n-)maṭa- to bend.
- biṭaṇ?-gu- *V5tr* to lick.
- biṭaraṇ-ḍi- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ṭi-) to be(come) healed.
- biṭ?biṭ *N* 1. tapsticks.  
2. a tree, *Exocarpos latifolius* from whose wood tapsticks are made. *Cf.* makbaṭ.
- biṭkbiṭk *N* peewee, mudlark. *Syn* ḍilili, ḍililibiṭkbiṭk.
- biṭk-u- *V5intr* to have diarrhoea. Also ḍuri-biṭk-u- (ḍuri excrement).
- biṭmir *N* tree *sp.* *Syn* bololo.
- bindar? *N* a swamp plant with many edible root tubers, *Triglochin procera*. *Syn* ṇarmuḍa?, mapuṭkuma?.
- bindiyay *N* a creeper with spiny fruits, *Tribulus cistoides*. (English loanword?)
- biṇḍay *N* cane grass, especially along rivers, e.g. *Chionachne cyathopoda*. *Cf.* ḍindi, ṭuṭumara.
- biṇḍar-u- *V5intr* to swear, to use bad language. ḍa:-biṇḍar *N* swearing, foul-mouthed.
- biṇiñ *N* finger- or toe-nail.
- biṇjara? *N* axe, especially an old-fashioned metal axe tied together with string. *Cf.* gapamaḍa, ṭa?ṭa.
- bi:ñ *N* worm, including harmful parasitic worms.
- biñgur *N* a chenopod (plant), *Tecticornia australasica*.
- biñjič *N* thin, skinny.
- biṇ?-gu- *V5tr* to suck.
- bir?-ḍara- *Vintr* (with ḍa:ra-) to be new moon.
- birgi? *N* green plum, *Buchanania obovata*. *Cf.* muñjuč, wutbur.
- biriri?-yu- *V5tr* to twist around, to stir; to start up (motor).

- birka?-yu- *V5tr* to accuse.  
yara-birka?-yu- to accuse as a thief.
- birkbirk *N* banded plover (bird).  
*Syn* ɲaɭanbirča.
- birkilin *N* an old-fashioned spear like the shovel spear (murɲiñ) but with a wooden blade.
- birkuḍa *N* honey bee (*Trigona* sp.), said to be 'cheeky' (biting).  
*Syn* ga:mu. Called ɲabi in Nunggubuyu.
- birɲ?-gu- *V5intr* (group) to go away.
- birɲir?-bu- *Vintr* (with bu-) to hiccup, to burp.
- biru?bir-u- *V5intr* (wind) to whistle. *Syn* wiru?wir-u-.
- biḗal *N* belt made of string.
- biḗay? *N* a tree with edible fleshy fruits, *Pouteria sericea*.
- biḗim *N* a large rock goanna, *Varanus glebopalma*. *Syn* baḍaḗar.
- biḗkar?-yu- *V5intr* to chant (in rituals of the yiriča moiety).  
*Cf.* gunbuḗ?-yu- (for ḍu:wa moiety).
- biḗku? *N* fighting stick. *Syn* guluwukbuk.
- biḗɲ?-gu- 1. *V5tr* to slap.  
2. *V5intr* to clap hands.  
*Caus* biḗɲ?-(gu-n-)maḗa- to slap.
- biḗpa? *N* flesh (of snail or shellfish).
- biḗ-yu- *V5intr* to become light (in the morning). biḗ-yu-na + ɲay  
It got light out. waɭir-biḗ-yu-  
sun to rise.
- biḗ-ḍu- *V5tr* (wasp, jellyfish, etc.) to sting.
- biḗi?-mapa- *Vtr* See mapa-.
- biḗi?-yu- *V5tr* to carry (in dilly-bag hung around shoulder).
- bi:wik *N* Variant of bi:bik.
- biyal *N* small freshwater fish sp.
- biyir?-yu- *V5tr* to twist.
- bololo *N* a tree sp. *Syn* biɭmir.
- bu- *Vtr* (*irreg*) to kill; to hit (hard). *Recip* bu-ɲa-mi-  
to fight.
- bubu *Part* good-bye!
- bububu *N* large wasp sp., probably *Eumenes* sp. *Syn* mabubu.
- bubu?-yu- *V5intr* to go away, to leave (probably from bubu).
- bu:č *N* ironwood, *Erythroleum chlorostachyum*. *Syn* miɲiyar? maypiñ?, jirpaḗa.
- bu:ča-, buča- *V6Atr* to make, to manufacture.
- buḍaga? *N* fruit of bulgut (*Brachychiton diversifolium*), a type of kurrajong tree.
- buḍalkiñ *N* a small plant found on ridges.
- buḍap-u- *V5tr* to cross, to go across or over. guwaɭ-buḍap-u-  
to go across partway.
- buḍuga? *N* a tree used for firesticks, *Clerodendrum floribundum*. (Terms for this sp. and *C. cunninghamii* are used inconsistently, *cf.* walpurungu?-ɲiniɲ, mupan?.)
- buḍur?-yu- *V5tr* to rub.
- bugu or bu:gu *Part* bu:gu + ra  
yuḗ-ḍu-ru I will travel to a distant place (in search of someone).
- buguḗbuguḗ *N* bar-shouldered dove.
- buju?-yu-, buyu?-yu- *V5tr* to make (string) by rolling string fibres on one's thigh.
- bukaɲu *N* entire, whole.

- bukaway *N* dream.
- bukaway?-yu- *V5intr* to dream.
- bu:kmak *N* entirety, whole lot.
- buku *N* face; forehead.
- bulal-mañji? (with Dual -mañji?) *N* two. In *cpds* -bulal, e.g. wa:qa-bulal having two wives (camps).
- bul-ğara- *V1intr* (with ɢa:ra-) (meat, etc.) to be left in oven to cook.
- bulgut *N* a type of kurrajong tree, *Brachychiton diversifolium*. *Syn* girgit (uncommon term). Fruit: buɢaga?. *Cf.* baɣgur.
- bulka? *N* fur, body hair.
- bulmurk *N* palm *sp.* found in spring country.
- bulna *Adv* softly, lightly; slowly. bulna + ña + ra wut-ɢu-na I hit him lightly. bulna + ɣay wa:ni-na He went slowly. *Cf.* ɣanga.
- bulpu? *N* basket made from pandanus fibres. *Cf.* marin.
- bulu *Part* again, but.
- bulul?-yu- *V5intr* (blanket, etc.) to be(come) opened out.
- bul?war-yu- *V5intr* to fly away.
- bułañ *N* name of a subsection (masc.) Fem. bułañjan?.
- bułañjan? *N* the female form of bułañ.
- bułar-yu-, bułar-u- *V5intr* to lie down on back.
- bul?bul-yu-, bul?bul-u- *V5intr* to sneak along covered with branches used as camouflage (ɢu:ɿ?).
- bul?maji *N* dangerous shark. *Syn* banguča.
- bulɣu? *N* fine, powderlike, in fine pieces; ashes. *Inch* bulɣu?-ɢi- to be(come) fine. *Cf.* muñur.
- buluk *N* feather. *Syn* wanger.
- buluruka? *N* a shrub with soft edible white fruits, *Securinega virosa*. *Cf.* gumbu.
- bulɣapulɣa *N* wild cassava (wild cotton) tree, *Cochlospermum fraseri*. (This term is used chiefly as a songword or personal name.) *Syn* ɢandigulk.
- bunanačini *N* name of a Ritharngu-speaking maɣa or sub-maɣa.
- bunbun? *N* edible root, *Vigna vexillata*. *Syn* yukuwa?, ɣulpaɣuɣ?.
- bundul *N* black (fork-tailed) kite, a hawk commonly seen soaring over settlements.
- bunba *N* butterfly, moth.
- bunič-u- *V5tr* to apply sweat to (in bestowal ritual, *cf.* Text 33).
- bunjuɣu? *N* wild orange tree, *Capparis umbonata*. (Can be confused with *Ehretia saligna*, which has similar leaves but no oranges.)
- bu:ɣu? *N* a eucalypt with smooth white bark, possibly *Eucalyptus bleeseri* or the like.
- buɣulk *N* dust.
- buñ?-ju- *V5tr* to smoke (tobacco); to kiss.
- buñjul *N* a prostrate vine with edible yam, probably *Ipomoea velutina*. *Syn* burukuy?.
- bungan *N* body odor.
- bungawa *N* owner, 'boss'.
- bungul *N* Aboriginal song sung with didgeridus and tapsticks, whether or not accompanied by dancing.
- bu:p-u- *V5intr* to play the didgeridu.



- bupup *N* throat. *Syn* guṛak.
- buralaṇ? *N* white-necked heron.  
*Syn* gumuḷu.
- bur?bur-yu- *V5intr* to fall off.  
*Cf.* yaḷabur-yu-.
- burgu-yu- *V5intr* (buffalo, etc.)  
to gallop.
- burk *N* appearance. burk + ja +  
ṇay ṇakana ṇara-?wañji? He looks  
like me. burk-miḍiku?-ṇu bad-  
looking, badly shaped.
- burkun *N* scar; man's chest mark.  
*Syn* mim?bu.
- burkunuṇ *N* women's dance in  
circumcision (at a given point  
the women run in a circle around  
the men, see Text 39.3).
- burpaṇḍala *N* (This is apparently  
a mildly rude term, applied  
disparagingly to certain plants.  
One of my informants applied it  
to the useless climbing vine  
*Tinospora smilacina*; N. Scarlett  
reports its application to a  
*Gardenia sp.*)
- burpuy-bu- *Vtr* (with bu-) to curse,  
to put a curse on. *Cf.* wuñ-mara-.
- bu:ruč *N* small mosquito *sp.* *Syn*  
milk-milk. *Cf.* gaṇamu.
- buruḍuḷ?ḍuḷ *N* having measles.
- burukuy? *N* a prostrate vine with  
edible yam, probably *Ipomoea*  
*velutina*. *Syn* buñjul.
- buruṇandi? *N* a smelly freshwater  
tortoise, probably *Chelodina*  
*novaeguineae*. *Syn* mulupiṇḍa?
- burupuru? *N* spots on body, due to  
sunburn or disease. burupuru? +  
ṇay galk-u-n waḷir-puy He has  
spots on account of the sun.
- buruṭji *N* a python, probably the  
water python *Liasis fuscus*.  
*Syn* gaḷča, guḷun-buḷalak.
- buruwaḷi? *N* described as a black,  
cat-like animal with white neck  
and red eye which flies around at  
night and is associated with  
'devils' (ghosts).
- buṛagal?-yu- *V5intr* to float.  
*Cf.* galu?gal-u-.
- buṛam *N* paper wasp.
- buṛgu?, buṛugu? *N* pollen.  
Also buṛwu?
- buṛk *N* dry, dried out.  
guñja?-buṛk *N* unafraid.
- buṛpa? *N* root of water lily,  
*Nymphaea ?violacea*, found in  
shallow water in billabongs.  
Can be occasionally used in the  
sense 'bullet'. *Cf.* giṅgil,  
ṛi:raṇ.
- buṛugu? *N* See buṛgu?
- buṛugur? *N* See buṛagar?
- buṛul *N* a short, harmless, dark  
snake *sp.* found in trees,  
similar to the even shorter  
yambalal.
- buṛum *N* ripe, cooked. (The  
common word for this sense in  
Ritharngu is wurkumuṇ.)
- buṛumu? *N* tree with edible red  
'apples', *Syzygium suborbiculare*  
(*Eugenia suborbicularis*).  
(Identification from  
N. Scarlett.)
- buṛuṇur *N* testicle.
- buṛurpuṛur *N* a small tree with  
edible fruits, *Diospyros sp.*  
(perhaps *D. maritima* and  
*D. ferrea var. humilis*).
- buṛutbuṛut *N* small rats.  
(According to some informants  
this is really a Pidgin English  
word.) *Syn* jirkiñ?
- buṛwu? *N* See buṛgu?
- butbi *N* a small sedge, *Cyperus*  
*sp.*
- buṭbilkbuṭbilk *N* parrot *sp.*,  
perhaps budgerigar.

buḡḡar?-yu- *V5intr* to make fires (especially for cooking).

buḡ-ḡu- *V5intr* to fly away.  
ḡḡḡ buḡu-buḡ-ḡu-.

buḡalak *N* yellow body paint made from clay. *Cf.* galaḡar?

bu-ḡi- *Vtr* (contains *Inch* -ḡi-) to tell lies to; to imitate.  
bu-ḡi-ḡa + ḡara-ḡa + ḡay  
He lied to me.

buḡuḡu *N* ear; frill of frilled lizard. *Cf.* ma:kiḡi?

buwakul *N* a climbing vine with edible root swellings, *Cayratia trifolia*. *Syn* majalaḡi?,  
yu:kaḡa.

buwat *N* common fly; any fly, bee, or wasp.

buypi-baḡa- *Vtr* See baḡa-.

bu:-yu- *V5intr* to blow.

buyu? *N* a shrub, perhaps *Grewia orientalis* or a similar *sp.*

buyu?-yu- *V5tr* to make string. Variety of buju?-yu-. Probably unrelated etymologically to buyu?, which does not provide string fibres.

## D

ḡabaḡaba?-yu- *V5intr* to refuse, to say no. ḡabaḡaba?-yu-na + ḡara-ku + ḡay He told me (Dative) no.

ḡabuḡabu *N* nightjar *sp.* (owl).

ḡaḡa?-yu- *V5tr* to purify (e.g. house of dead person) by burning branches around it.

ḡagaḡ *N* a plant found near river banks.

ḡakawa? *N* river crayfish. *Cf.* la:ḡḡurk, maḡakutu?, muraḡapu?

ḡakḡak *N* young possum (miḡiwiri?). A rare word.

ḡak-u- *V5tr* to cut, to cut off; to circumcise. *Refl/Recip*  
ḡak-(u-n-)mi-.

ḡa:l *N* strong, firm, hard. Also ḡa:l-ḡu. *Inch* ḡa:l-ḡi- or ḡa:l-ḡu-ḡi- (vowel-length not clear). *Fact* ḡa:l-ḡa- to strengthen. buḡuḡu-ḡal-ḡu stubborn, disobedient (buḡuḡu ear).

ḡa:la *N* 1. stomach. *Cf.* ḡuri (ḡuri yindi).

2. nest of paper wasp (buḡam).

ḡalḡir *N* orchid, especially tree orchid. *Cf.* du:ḡaḡ?, jalkurk. Terms for orchids are applied somewhat inconsistently.

ḡalmarḡ *N* maggot.

ḡalpan *N* idle, lazy, quiet.  
ḡalpan + ḡi: ḡi:n-i + ya  
Sit there quietly!

ḡal-u- *V5tr* to cut down, to knock down.

ḡal?-yu- *V5intr* to crack, to become cracked (e.g. eggshell).

ḡal-u- *V5intr* to be(come) stiff. makar + ḡa ḡal-u-na His leg has become stiff.

ḡamala *N* wedge-tailed eagle (eaglehawk).

ḡamaḡama? *N* tree *sp.* near billabongs with inedible dark fruits.

ḡa:mbuy? *N* male possum (miḡiwiri?).

ḡamurkḡamurk *N* wild melon resembling wild cucumber (baḡmurk), but inedible. Perhaps *Coccinea cordifolia*.

ḡaḡuraḡ *N* a small marine fish, perhaps a mudskipper.

ḡapalan? *N* blue-tongued lizard. *Syn* gurmulu?

ḡap-u- *V5intr* to be joined or closed; to be tight.

- Caus* *ḍap*-(u-n)-maṛa- to join.  
*ga*:-*ḍap*-u- to have one's mouth closed.
- ḍapururu?* *N* grasshopper.
- ḍarabiya?* *N* red-tailed black cockatoo.
- ḍaramu* *N* man; male. *Pl* *ḍaramu-wač* (regular) or *ḍaramu-ru* (irregular).
- ḍarar?*-yu- *V5tr* to drag, to pull along.
- ḍarawk* *N* ghost gum, whitebark, *Eucalyptus papuana*. Perhaps also certain similar white gums.  
*Syn* *giṛiri?*
- ḍara?*-yu- *V5intr* (water) to dry up.
- ḍarwir* *N* armband. *Syn* *jaḷi*, *ṇaṇbak*.
- ḍar?*-yu-, *ḍar?*-u- *V5intr* to sing with tapstick accompaniment.
- ḍaṭ-ḍu*- *V5intr* to be(come) broken off. *Caus* *ḍaṭ*-(ḍu-n)-maṛa-.
- ḍa:w?* *N* prostrate vine with edible yam, perhaps *Ipomoea* sp.  
*Syn* *muṛuṭulu?*. *Cf.* *ḍawalala?*, etc.
- ḍawala* *N* healthy, recovered.
- ḍawalala?* *N* a yam, probably *Ipomoea gracilis* or *I. sp. aff. gracilis*.
- ḍaw?*-wu- *V5tr* to strip off (bark).
- ḍayparanji* *N* a pigeon or dove sp., said to have a reddish face.
- ḍay*-u- *V5intr* to dry up. *Caus* *ḍay*-u-n-maṛa- to dry (something) out. *baṇḍaṇ-ḍay*-u- to dry up.
- ḍi:č*, *ḍi:?* *N* grasshopper sp.  
*Cf.* *ḍapururu?*. *Syn* *ḍikḍik*.
- ḍičgur?*-yu- *V5intr* to shoot up, to come flying up. *Caus* *ḍičgur?*-maṛa- to shoot (something) up; (archerfish, *biḷu?*) to shoot (saliva) upwards (to knock down insects).
- ḍiči* *N* See *ḍilči*.
- ḍiḍi*-yu-, *ḍidi*-yu- *V5tr* to scratch. *mi:l-ḍiḍi*-yu- to scratch one's eyes.
- ḍikala?* *N* swamp plant with yellow flowers, edible tubers, *Cartonema* sp. *Cf.* *ḍimarkalaṇ?*.
- ḍikḍik* *N* long-horned grasshopper. *Syn* *ḍi:č*. *Cf.* *ḍapururu?*.
- ḍiku* *N* raw, uncooked, not ready to eat. In *cpds* also: dead, unconscious. *ḍiku*-baṭ to pick up (a dead or unconscious animal). *guḷiči-ḍiku* thief (rude term). *Cf.* *ya:ra*.
- ḍila* *N* a paperbark tree whose bark is made into coolimans, perhaps *Melaleuca nervosa*. *Cf.* *mungur*.
- ḍilaḍilawṇ?*-gu- *V5intr* (sea, lake) to be rough or choppy.
- ḍilči* *N* (upper) back. *Cf.* *mundu*.
- ḍilili*, *ḍililibiḷkbiḷk* *N* peewee, mudlark. *Syn* *biḷkbiḷk*.
- ḍilkuru* *N* big. Also *ḍilkuru-ṇu*.
- ḍilmiṇin?* *N* rainforest trees with edible fruits, *Ganophyllum falcatum* and *Carallia brachiata*.
- ḍilmur* *N* large louse. *Cf.* *juku*.
- ḍilt-ḍu*- *V5tr* to poison (fish) by putting branches of certain trees into a small billabong.
- ḍil?*-yu- *V5tr* to paint (body), to apply something to (body).
- ḍimarkalaṇ?* *N* swamp plant with tubers and yellow flowers, *Cartonema* sp. Very similar to *ḍikala?*.
- ḍimiṭimiṇ* *N* water insect, perhaps the water strider.
- ḍindin?* *N* paperbark tree (*Melaleuca* sp.) found in flood plains. *Syn* *biḍipiḍi*.

- đini *N* side. đini-kuru? along the side. *Cf.* gaḡa-.
- điñ?điñ *N* 1. kidney. *Syn* galmak.  
2. tree with edible, kidney-shaped nuts, *Terminalia grandiflora*. *Syn* gutu?.
- đipu *N* a small herb.
- đirir?-yu- *V5intr* to crawl; to shift around (in sitting position).
- điriwili? *N* freshwater crab. *Cf.* muraḡapu?.
- đirmala *N* northeast wind.
- đirḡđirḡ *N* burdekin duck.
- đirḡ?-gu- *V5intr* to fart. *Caus* đirḡ?-(gu-n-)maḡa-.  
mali? + ḡay đirḡ?-ma-ḡ He farts.
- đit-đu- *V5tr* to fetch (water).
- đi:tuḡ *N* buffalo. *Syn* ḡanapara?, gatapaḡa.
- điwač *N* green pygmy-goose (duck).
- điw?điw *N* dollar-bird.
- đi:?-yu- *V5tr* to pinch, to tickle. (Used especially with reference to the act of removing lice from the body.) *Cogn:* Ngandi đey?-đu-scratch.
- đu:bal or đubal *N* leichhardt tree, *Nauclea coadunata*. (N.B. 'leichhardt tree' has different meanings elsewhere in Australia.) Possibly also *Gmelina dalrympleana*. *Syn* yimimi?.
- đuḡač-u- *V5intr* to be upside down; to be(come) flipped over. *Caus* đuḡač-(u-n-)maḡa-.
- đuḡḡuk-u- *V5intr* (heart) to beat, to throb. *Syn* đupḡub-u-.
- đu:l? *N* branches used as camouflage (in hunting emus).
- đułmur-ḡara- *V1intr* (with ḡa:ra-) to tilt, to lean forward (slightly). *Cf.* đumḡum?-ḡara-.
- đułmuy? *N* a tree with usually inedible fruits, *Canarium australianum*.
- đułulu-yu- *V5intr* (crocodile) to slide along on the ground.
- đuł?-yu- *V5intr* to catch fire. *Caus* đuł?-(yu-n-)maḡa- to light, to set fire to.
- đuł?-bu- *V5intr* to have a hole or opening; to become punctured. *Caus* đuł?-(bu-n-)maḡa-.
- đułđuł?-ḡara- *V1intr* (with ḡa:ra-) to lean way over forward, to bend over forward. *Cf.* đułmur-ḡara-.
- đułmuru *N* big. *Cf.* gaḡu.
- đuḡuru *N* ankle.
- đuḡḡub-u- *V5intr* (heart) to beat. *Syn* đuḡḡuk-u-.
- đuḡḡuḡḡu- *V5intr* (buffalo, etc.) to gallop.
- đuḡḡu- *V5tr* to throw (spear); to throw at. *guyara?* + ḡay đuḡ-u-na He threw the stone spear. đuḡ-u-na + ña + ḡay *guyara?*-đu He threw at him with the stone spear. (Alternative: đuḡ-u-na ḡan-ḡu + ḡay *guyara?* He threw the stone spear at him.)
- đuḡun *N* hollow tree. *Syn* ḡarakič.
- đuḡumul? *N* mouse *sp.* (said by one informant to be a female *jirkiñ?*).
- đuḡ?-yu- *V5tr* to push.
- đuḡburk *N* boobock (mopoke) and barking (winking) owls. *Syn* garpaw?, mukmuk.
- đuḡ-đu- *V5intr* to swell up.
- đuḡiñ? *N* mouse *sp.* larger than *jirkiñ?*.

ḍuṭu? *N* hole; burrow (e.g. of bandicoot). ḍuṭu?-ṇaṇa inside (a burrow, house, etc.).  
ḍuṭu?-ḡara- *Vlintr* (with ḡa:ra-) (door) to be open; (spear, for example) to be right through (body).

ḍuwaṭ-ḍu- *Vsintr* to go up (slope).

ḍuwič-u- *Vsintr* to give an involuntary twitch (this often indicates a premonition of a coming event).

ḍu:waw? *N* koel (bird). *Syn* gu:wak, walkuli. (Some informants do not agree that the terms are synonymous.)

ḍuypuṇun *N* sleepy cod, mudfish, *Oxyeleotris lineolatus*.  
*Syn* ḍuṇum.

## D

ḡa: *N* mouth, orifice. ḡa:-miri having a mouth. *Inch* ḡa:-ṭi- *Vtr* to walk along eating. ḡa:-ṭi-ri + ṇay ṇaṭa He walks along eating vegetable food.  
*Cpds:* cf. ṇamakuli, biṇḡar, ṇimbi!ṇimbi!, may-bu-.

ḡaḡalal *N* dreamtime beings who played didgeridus and created some stringybark dreamings, associated with the Maḡarpa maṭa.

ḡaganda *N* young antelopine kangaroo (garčambal).

ḡagar *N* crossing (through jungle, etc.). *Cogn:* Nunggubuyu ḡa(w)ar.

ḡagirič *N* a tree, *Persoonia falcata*. *Syn* ḡangapa? (more common term).

ḡa:jar-u- *Vstr* to take possession of (a place). (May contain ḡa:.)

ḡakaḡač *N* vegetable food eaten for variety, in contrast to meat. *Cf.* ṇaṭa. ḡakaḡač-u- *Vsintr* to eat vegetable food instead of meat. (Also *Inch* ḡakaḡač-ḡi- in same meaning.)

ḡakal *N* jaw.

ḡakalgaḡajar *N* small lizard *sp.* with long tail (probably a compound containing ḡakal).

ḡaku *N* vulva.

ḡa:kuḡak *N* caterpillar.  
*Syn* ḡapalañ.

ḡa:la *N* dreaming, totem; very big. *Cf.* wirji?.

ḡalaṇ *N* blunt (e.g. knife); in the way (of line of vision), blocking view. *Cf.* ḡulukuṇuṇ.

ḡalapuḡ *N* large water lily root, found in deep water in billabongs.

ḡalḡalḡ-yu- *Vsintr* to drip.

ḡalkurk *N* a mangrove, *Avicennia marina*.

ḡalmaṇḡa? *N* small freshwater fish *sp.* (uncommon word).

ḡalḡar-yu- *Vsintr* to walk in mud.

ḡalpa? *N* march fly. *Syn* balar.

ḡalpi? *N* fan-palm with edible shoots, *Livistona humilis*.  
*Cf.* ja:jak.

ḡalpiñ *N* small plant, similar to waḡaḡuṇu and waḡuṇu.

ḡalpur? *N* two-lined dragon.  
*Syn* ḡaṇḡaṇḡ?. *Cf.* ḡakḡak.

ḡalḡ-yu- *Vsintr* (bird, plane) to land.

ḡalara *N* king brown snake.

ḡa:ḡuk *N* small freshwater gudgeon (fish) *sp.* *Syn* gaḡjara?.

ḡaluṇgu *N* hook spear with hooks on one side. *Syn* gunjaraṇ, etc.

ḡalḡ-yu- *Vstr* to stop up, to block; to dam up (creek).  
*Cf.* gaṇḡaḡ-yu-.

ḡamḡ-bu- *Vsintr* to be(come) shut.

- buḡuru-ḡam?-bu- to be deaf.  
*Caus* ḡam?-(bu-n-)maḡa-.
- ḡambuḡ *N* sand; sandhill.
- ḡamulḡ?-gu- *V5intr* to grow.
- ḡamun *N* chin.
- ḡanda *N* antmound, termite mound.  
*Syn* yaḡḡa.
- ḡandigulk *N* wild cassava,  
*Cochlospermum fraseri*.  
*Syn* buḡyapuḡya, ḡaḡayuru.
- ḡangapa? *N* a tree with edible  
 fruits, *Persoonia falcata*.  
 (Pronounced ḡangapa? in languages  
 to the north.) *Syn* ḡagirič  
 (uncommon term).
- ḡa:ḡa? *N* burning stick.
- ḡaḡalaḡar? *N* gills.
- ḡaḡaḡ *N* full.
- ḡaḡara? *N* flower.
- ḡaḡbiḡiḡi?-yu-, ḡaḡbiḡi?-yu- *V5tr*  
 to go around (and sit down).
- ḡaḡḡi? *N* cocky-apple tree,  
*Planchonia careya*.
- ḡa:ḡḡu *N* meat, flesh (contrast  
 Nunggubuyu ḡaḡu with short  
 vowel).
- ḡaḡuḡ *N* story.
- ḡapala *Adv* outside, away (from a  
 point of reference).
- ḡapalaḡ *N* caterpillar. *Syn*  
 ḡa:kuḡak.
- ḡapalaḡan-ḡara- *V1intr* (with ḡa:ra-)  
 to lie face down.
- ḡapaḡk *N* star.
- ḡapiḡa *N* generous.
- ḡa:ra- *V1intr* to stand, to be  
 upright; to stand up (opening or  
 closing a ceremonial performance).
- ḡara? *N* paperbark coffin. *Cogn*:  
 Nunggubuyu ḡa:raḡ.
- ḡaraḡar? *N* described as a  
 harmful substance found in or  
 near water. *Syn* maḡarak.
- ḡarakay *N* last-born.
- ḡaramu *N* upper leg, especially  
 its bone.
- ḡaraw? *N* quinine bush,  
*Petalostigma pubescens*.  
*Syn* ḡumumu?
- ḡarawaḡ? *N* a tree, apparently a  
 white-barked eucalypt with  
 large nuts.
- ḡarbu- *V6tr*, ḡar-bu- *Vtr* (with  
 bu-) to pile up.
- ḡarkḡark *N* rough.
- ḡark-u- *V5tr* to spear.
- ḡarpal *N* many; big. Also  
 ḡarpal-ḡu (and variant  
 ḡarpal?-ḡu). *Rdp* ḡarpa?-  
 ḡarpal-ḡu big ones. *Cf.*  
 baḡu?-ḡu.
- ḡart-ḡu- *V5tr* to poke (e.g.  
 stick into beehive, to obtain  
 honey).
- ḡar?-yu- *V5tr* to break (bone).
- ḡara *N* anus.
- ḡarpa *N* wood, stick, tree.
- ḡarpu- *V6tr* (blade or point)  
 to pierce, to badly scratch up  
 the surface of; to poke; to  
 weave (dillybag), etc.).
- ḡa:ḡuk *N* word, language.
- ḡatam *N* water lily *sp.* found  
 in billabongs, *Nymphaea*  
 ?*gigantea*. (Refers primarily  
 to the edible fruits.)  
*Cf.* ḡuḡ.
- ḡat-bar?-maḡa- *Vtr* (with *Caus*  
 -maḡa-) See bar?-yu-.
- ḡatul? *N* paperbark torch.
- ḡawal *N* country, place.
- ḡawarak *N* beard, whiskers.

qawar?-yu- *V5intr* to disappear, to become finished off.

qa:wu *N* word, speech.

qa:wu? *N* promised (bestowed) wife, wife's mother, etc. *Fact:* dawu?-qa- (potential mother-in-law) to make bestowal arrangement with (future son-in-law). (See Text 33.2.) *Cf.* milmara.

dawunburk *N* spangled perch.  
*Syn* murka?, ri:mu?.

dawup-u- *V5intr* (person, animal) to be on fire.

qa?wun-dara- *Vlintr* (with qa:ra-) to lie in ambush for (Dative object).

dayark *N* bark fibres to be made into string (garam). *Cf.* jirpa!.

qa:-yu- *V5intr* to have mouth open. *Rdp* qa:-qa?-yu-.

qili *Part* yes-or-no? (interrogative or tag-question marker).  
na:-wala + ña + ni:, qili Did you see him? Also qili-wana?.

qilipiñingirk *N* mistletoe.

qi:ln *N* tongue.

qil?-yu- *V5intr* to be unable to walk.

qindi? *N* cane grass, especially *Phragmites karka*, and spears made from it. *Syn* !ulumara.

qin? (or qi:ñ?) *N* woman.  
qin?-baña-ñu husband, proper owner of a woman.

qip-u- *V5tr* to carve.

qi:rañ *N* root corm of shallow-water water lily, *Nymphaea ?violacea* (wakwak).

qiripa-la *Adv* downward, downriver; toward the coast.

qiripi *Adv* down, below, downriver; near the coast.

qirkqirk *N* spiny-tailed goanna,

*Varanus acanthurus*.

qiriw? *N* a tree, *Alphitonia excelsa*.

qit-du- *V5tr* to have or gather in one's hands; to have one's hands full of. ju:ga + ña  
qit-du-na He had his hands full of sugar.

qu:- *Vtr (irreg)* to chop down.  
*Syn* qurka-.

qubuðu? *N* short. *Syn* qumbuñ.

qubuk-u- *V5tr* to carry over the shoulders or on the back.  
Also quwuk-u-.

qubur, quwur *N* 'business' (as in 'That's my business'). This is a rather abstract term which may refer to ritual affairs (Text 41.2).

quði *N* 1. voice.

2. base; root (of tree); bony area above buttocks; part of spearhead where it joins the shaft.

quduqudu *N* tawny frogmouth (owl). *Syn* guluykuluy.

qukar *N* path, tracks, footprints.

qu:ku *Part* in vain; unsuccessfully.

qu:ku? *N* a paperbark tree, the form of *Melaleuca leucadendron* with crooked trunk, found on old sand dunes near the coast.

qukul *N* soap tree, *Acacia holosericea*.

qulaku *N* adult male euro (murpungula).

qulqul *N* covered, hidden in burrow (used of goannas and other animals). Attested only in *Inch* qulqul-ti-.

qulgu *N* a paperbark tree, the form of *Melaleuca leucadendron* with straight trunk, found on riverbanks.



- ḍulmaḍulma *N* soft (to the touch).
- ḍuluḍur? *N* dry season, especially the hot weather just before the wet season.
- ḍulukunūḡ *N* blunt (not sharp).  
*Cf.* ḡalaḡ.
- ḍulwaḡ *N* a fern sp. *Cf.* ḡuḡarkuḡar.
- ḍulwir? *N* a tree, perhaps  
*Atalaya hemiglauca*.
- ḍul?ḍul-u- *V5tr* to nail.
- ḍuluḡu *N* mullet sp. (fish).
- ḍum?-bu- *V5intr* In simple (unreduplicated) form attested in the *cpd* ḡuy-ḍum?-bu- to be worried; to swelter (in heat).  
*Rdp* ḍum?-ḍum?-bu- (kangaroo) to hop along.
- ḡumbuḡumbu? *N* sandalwood tree,  
*Santalum lanceolatum*.
- ḡumbuḡ *N* short. *Syn* ḡubuḡu?.  
malḡ-ḡumbuḡ short time (as interjection 'Hurry up!').
- ḡumuḡu? *N* bloodwood with long nuts, *Eucalyptus polycarpa*.  
*Syn* waḡḡuwa?. *Cf.* ju:y?, ba:ba?.
- ḡumumu? *N* quinine bush,  
*Petalostigma pubescens*.  
*Syn* ḡaraw?.
- ḡumunumun *N* tree stump.
- ḡuni *N* an ochre.
- ḡunupa *N* straight. bala-ḡunupa right-hand side.
- ḡu:ḡa? *N* yamstick. *Cf.* ba:ḡu?.
- ḡu:ḡḡa? *N* bloodroot (plant),  
*Haemodorum sp.* *Cf.* jalkurk, ḡalḡir.
- ḡuḡum *N* sleepy cod, mudfish,  
*Oxyeleotris lineolatus*. *Syn* ḡuypuḡun.
- ḡuḡa *N* ignorant. ḡuḡa + ra I do not know.
- ḡuḡa? *N* bandicoot, especially young ones. *Cf.* waḡḡura?.
- ḡuḡḡul?-yu- *V5intr* (fire) to be ablaze. *Caus* ḡuḡḡul?-(yu-n-) maḡa- to set (fire).
- ḡupḡup *N* sandfly, a tiny biting fly. *Syn* maḡjiri, wiḡinwiḡin.
- ḡupiḡiḡ *N* mistletoe bird.
- ḡup-u- *V5intr* to spit.
- ḡupu- *V6Bintr* to look upwards (especially in hunting for honey bee hives).
- ḡurḡi? *N* a wattle (*Acacia sp.*) whose wood is used for yamsticks, perhaps  
*A. leptocarpa*.
- ḡuri *N* entrails; excrement; fluid containing bees eggs, found in hives. ḡuri yu:ḡu (or compound ḡuri-yuḡu) intestines. ḡuri yindi (or ḡuri-yindi) stomach.
- ḡurka- *Vtr* (*irreg.*) to chop down. *Syn* ḡu:-.
- ḡur?muḡ-ḡu-, ḡurmuḡ-ḡu- *V5intr* to jump into water.
- ḡurpa *N* track (e.g. of snake; not applied to footprints).
- ḡurpaḡa- *V6Atr* to step on (*accusative object*).
- ḡuruman, ḡuruman? *N* 1. firestick.  
*Syn* maḡark.
2. trees used for firesticks, especially *Premna spp.* *Cf.* buḡḡa?, muḡaḡ?, and waḡpuruḡu?-ḡiniḡ for other trees used in this way.
3. a small freshwater fish. ḡuruman-ḡiniḡ snake sp. found in rocky terrain (also meanings 2 and 3 of ḡuruman).
- ḡururuḡiḡ *N* a shrub, *Jacksonia dilatata*.
- ḡuruḡ?-yu- *V5intr* to cough.

ɖur?-yu- *V5intr* to laugh.  
 ɖurkɖurk (onomatopoeic) *N* a perch  
*sp.*, probably the black-striped  
 grunter.  
 ɖurŋ?-gu- *V5tr* to brandish a  
 weapon at, to threaten with a  
 weapon.  
 ɖur-u- *V5intr* to move very slowly;  
 to crawl.  
 ɖurɖurɖurɖur-gu- *V5intr* to have aches  
 (after overworking).  
 ɖut *V* (root form only) to sit  
 down. *Cf.* ɖi:na-.  
 ɖu:wa *N* one of the two moieties.  
*Cf.* yiriča. Also pronounced ɖuwa.  
 ɖuwarp-u- *V6Bintr* or ɖuwarp-bu-  
*V6intr* (with bu-) to make a mark  
 in the ground; to be a flood.  
 ɖuway- *N* husband.  
 ɖuwuk-u- *V5tr* See ɖubuk-u-.  
 ɖuwur *N* See ɖubur.  
 ɖuykun *N* female.  
 ɖuyu-ti- *V1intr* (contains *Inch*  
 -ti-) to be tabooed from eating  
 certain foods.

## G

ga: *N* swag; loose (portable)  
 possessions.  
 ga:- *V6Btr* to carry (in the hand),  
 to take along.  
 gabaŋ *N* ground, dirt. *Cogn:*  
 Nunggubuyu aban.  
 gabaŋ?-yu-, gawaŋ?-yu- *V5intr*  
 to dawn.  
 gabil?-yu- *V5intr* (fish) to quiver  
 (as when 'hovering'); (dog, etc.)  
 to wag tail. (Possibly related  
 to bil?-yu-.)  
 gabuk-u-, gawuk-u- *V5tr* to cover

up; to bury.  
 gačal *N* road, path.  
 gaɖa *Interj* Oh! (especially  
 used when the speaker realises  
 he has made an error).  
 gaɖa? *N* chest (body part).  
 gaɖačibala?, gaɖačiwala? *N*  
 a shrub *sp.*  
 gaɖakaɖa *N* jabiru (stork).  
*Syn* ganji.  
 gaɖaku *N* uncircumcised boy.  
 gaɖak-u- *V5intr* to make a camp.  
 Also wa:ŋa-gaɖak-u-.  
 gaɖalbar *N* tall grasses,  
*Sorghum sp.* Very similar to  
 maɖaɖupa and wuɭumu.  
 gaɖanuk *N* spear; spear shaft.  
 gaɖaŋ *N* fog; dew. *Cf.* ga:r?.  
 gaɖaŋ *N* leaf. gaɖaŋ-ɖiku young  
 leaf (especially of water lily).  
 gaɖargaɖar *N* young emu (wurpaŋ).  
 gaɖayka? *N* stringybark (tree),  
*Eucalyptus tetradonta*; dugong  
 harpoon (made from this tree).  
*Cf.* ɖaɖar.  
 gaɖukaɖu *N* crocodile, especially  
 freshwater crocodile. *Cf.*  
 ŋa:w?, ŋaŋar.  
 gaja? *N* paperbark (bark only);  
 money (especially paper money).  
 gajit, gayit, ga:yit *N* shovel  
 spear. *Syn* murŋiŋ.  
 galaŋiŋ? *N* a cement made from  
 sap of ironwood (maypiŋ?) or  
 cypress (gaŋgi?), used in  
 making spears.  
 galaŋ *N* clever person.  
 galaŋar? *N* a reddish clay used  
 in body-painting. *Cf.* buɖalak.  
 galaŋay? *N* a wattle (*Acacia sp.*)  
 with thin leaves.

- galay- *N* wife. *Syn* guñjuy-.
- gal?gal-u- *V5intr* to be loose (not tight).
- galijan? *N* name of a subsection (fem.). Masc. gela.
- gali?-yu- *V5intr* to go away.
- galka? *N* warrior. *Cf.* juřamu.
- galki *Adv* nearby. galki-?may? not nearby, far away.
- galki- *Vintr* (*irreg*) to fall down. ðiku-galki- to faint, to collapse.
- galk-u- *V5tr* to have, to hold.
- galmak *N* kidney. *Syn* ðiñ?ðiñ.
- galñ- *Prf* galñ-yuř-ðu- *V5intr* (fire) to crackle.
- galñgalñ-gu- *V5intr* to go hunting (for kangaroos or other terrestrial game). *Caus* galñgalñ- (gu-n-)mařa- to shake (spear held in hand with woomera). *Cf.* mar-u-n-mařa-.
- gal?ñu *Part* really, in fact. wa:ni-ña + gal?ñu + ñay He did go.
- galu?gal-u- *V5intr* to float. *Cf.* buřagal?-yu-.
- galagalk *N* pelican. *Syn* mula.
- galajar?, galayar? *N* egret.
- galawan? *N* Nunggubuyu (language or people).
- galba? *N* female (or, according to other informants, young) rock wallaby (gañdawul?).
- galça *N* water python, *Liasis fuscus*. *Syn* guľunbuřalak, mundukuľ, buruťji.
- galigali? *N* (ordinary) boomerang. miliñ-miri galigali? hook boomerang.
- galirk-u- *V5intr* to slide.
- galjara?, galjara? *N* a small freshwater gudgeon (fish). *Syn* ga:ľuk.
- gaľka? *N* tadpole. *Syn* wuľwuľk.
- gaľkarinu *N* crow. *Syn* wa?wa, wařñ?wařñ?.
- galmanda? *N* a freshwater fish *sp.*
- galña *N* mud. *Syn* gu:ľ?.
- galpu *N* woomera. *Syn* bañđak.
- galura? *N* a tree with small red fruits in the wet season. (Scarlett says *Ficus sp.*; I suspect *Ficus platypoda*.)
- galu?-yu- *V5tr* to get (water). gapu + ñay galu?-yu-na He got water. *Cf.* ðit-đu-.
- gamañ *N* name of a subsection (fem.). *Syn* gamañjan?.
- gamañjan? *N* See gamañ.
- gamarañ *N* name of a subsection (masc.). Fem. gamañ, gamañjan?.
- gambalala? *N* young male sandy (agile) wallaby (barañgal).
- gami *N* spear (general term). *Cf.* gađanuk.
- gamiñar- *N* daughter's child; sister's son's child.
- ga:mu *N* a honey bee (*Trigona sp.*), called ñabi in Nunggubuyu. *Syn* birkuđa.
- gamunungu? *N* white clay, used in body-painting.
- ga:muřñ? *N* witchetty grub found most often in waľan? (*Eucalyptus tectifica*). *Cf.* gařmuřñ?, ñi:mbu?.
- gamuřungu *N* a dark red ochre used as a body-paint. (Considered a Rembarrnga word.) *Syn* miku?.
- gana *Part* so that.
- ga:na *N* alone, by oneself.

- ga:na-gana one by one, separately. ga:na + nay ni:na-Ø He sits alone.
- ganbukbuk *N* a cloverlike flower, *Gomphrena* sp. Cf. banbulara, banbuliriliri, ganbuliri?, ganbuliriliri?. (This set of terms is applied somewhat inconsistently.)
- ganbuliri? *N* a clover (*Gomphrena* sp.), especially a type with fairly long, reddish stem.
- ganbuliriliri? *N* Variant of ganbuliri?.
- gandamukuy *N* a tree with edible gum, *Terminalia canescens*.
- gandiri *N* flour, damper.
- ga:nḡaw? *N* bittern (bird).
- ganguṛi? (rarely ganguṛi) *N* a long yam, *Dioscorea* sp.
- ganipar *N* edible root sp. (N. Scarlett: root of wild grape, ja:lulu?.)
- ganji *N* jabiru (stork). *Syn* gadakaḡa.
- ganu? *N* ashes; hot ashes, embers. Cf. buḡu?. ganu?-miri dirty (water).
- gaṇa *N* mangrove, especially *Rhizophora* sp.
- gaṇamu *N* large mosquito.
- gaṇaṇañja? *N* feathers of emu; (rarely) body hair.
- gaṇay? *N* a long yam, probably *Ipomoea graminea*.
- gaṇbuṛk *N* a possum or similar animal. Cf. baranji?.
- gaṇḡalpuru *N* female antelope kangaroo (garčambal).
- gaṇḡawul? *N* rock wallaby, *Petrogale* sp. Cf. gaḡba?.
- gaṇḡa?-yu- *V5tr* to trap (fish, etc.) in a dam.
- gaṇḡi? *N* cypress pine, *Callitris intratropica* (= *C. columellaris*). *Syn* lanapu.
- gaṇḡuyya *N* black flying fox, *Pteropus gouldii*. *Cogn.* Nunggubuyu waṇḡujba.
- gaṇḡal *N* large freshwater eel-tailed catfish, *Neosilurus ater*. Cf. baṛčar, jambaḡak, manbiṛi.
- gaṇḡaṇ? *Sff* diminutive. Variant -ḡaṇḡaṇ?.
- gaṇḡawu *N* wild cashew, Queensland tar tree, *Semecarpus australiensis*. *Syn* milbuṭjuṇ.
- gaṇbu *N* string fishnet.
- gaṇjar *Adv* hard, powerfully, with force. (Used generally with reference to motion.) gaṇjar + nay yuṭ-ḡu-n He runs around vigorously; He is running all over the place.
- gaṇḡjur *N* nankeen night-heron. *Syn* gaṛkuṇja?.
- ga:ṇama-ḡa- *Vtr* (ends in *Fact* -ḡa-) to roll up. ga:ṇama-ḡa-na-puy + nay ḡu:ra-Ø It is rolled up. (May contain -ḡama-ḡa-.)
- gaṇḡa *Adv* slowly; lightly, not hard. gaṇḡa + nay wa:ni-Ø He goes slowly (lightly). (Not a common word.) Cf. bulna.
- gap *Interj* quiet!
- gapala *N* open plain, clearing; clear sky.
- gapamaḡa *N* stone axe. Cf. biṇjara?, la?la.
- gapilil-yu- *V5intr* to go around, revolve.
- gapiri- *N* sister's child. *Syn* waku-.
- gapu *N* (fresh) water; beer, liquor. gapu-wa in the water,

- underwater. gapu-barapa  
freshwater. gapu-ṇamakuli  
freshwater, good drinking water.  
gapu-ḍumuru deep water.
- ga:r? *N* 1. spider.  
2. dew, fog.  
*Cf.* gaḍañ, mapuṇ.
- garaba? *N* blue-winged kookaburra.  
*Syn* garukal?.
- garačimaṛčmaṛč *N* a tree, probably  
*Grevillea mimosoides* and/or other  
closely related *sp.*
- garaḍikaraḍi *N* dragonfly.
- garakarak *N* darter ('diver duck').  
*Cf.* jiṇaṇḍar, jaṅgaḷan. *Syn*  
wuraṇ.
- garala *N* spoonbill (wading bird).
- garam *N* string, fishline. *Syn*  
balku. *Cf.* ḡayark.
- garañiri *N* a fish, probably the  
nursery fish.
- gararak *N* pole laid across two  
forked sticks on dancing ground.  
*Cf.* mangala.
- garaṛ *N* name(d). waṛa + ṇi:  
garaṛ + ya What is your name?  
(formally, garaṛ is here in  
apposition to ṇi: you).
- garawa-la *Adv* upward. Related to  
garwaṛ.
- garawar *N* little black cormorant.
- garawaṭji? *N* feather head ornament;  
crest (of bird).
- garayiwyiw *N* drizzle, light rain.
- garbululuk *N* small quail *sp.*  
*Cf.* jirkič.
- garčambal *N* antelope kangaroo,  
*Macropus antelopinus*. Female:  
gaṇḍalpuru. Young: ḡaganda.  
*Syn* marawal.
- gari- *Vlintr* to go in. *Rdp*  
gari?-gari- to all be going in  
(often used with reference to  
honey bees discovered entering  
their hive). yay-gari-,  
ṛay-gari- to go in with, to  
take inside.
- gariwa *N* flatback turtle.  
*Syn* marpaṇ.
- garkaṇ? *N* brown falcon.
- garkar-u- *V5intr* 1. to sing with  
tapstick accompaniment.  
2. (cloud) to float along.  
3. (dog) to trot along.
- garma- *V4tr* to taste.
- garpaw? *N* boobock (mopoke) and  
winking (barking) owls.  
*Syn* ḡutburk, mukmuk.
- garpi- *V4tr* to coil up, to make  
into a coil. *Ref?* garpi-ṇ-mi-  
to coil up, to form a coil  
(with oneself).  
mayaṇ-garpi-ṇ-mi- to wrap or  
tie (something) around one's  
neck.
- garukal? *N* blue-winged kookaburra.  
*Syn* garaba?.
- garwaṇ *N* certain plants which  
cause scratches, including  
*Asparagus racemosus*.
- garwaṛ *Adv* above, on top;  
upriver; upcountry, away from  
the coast.
- ga:ṛ *N* damper made from cycad  
palm (ṇaṭu) nuts.
- garaṇaṅga? *N* brown tree snake,  
*Boiga sp.*
- garaṭa? *N* a small goanna *sp.*  
found in hollow trees, said to  
be dark on top with yellowish  
belly, with spots on the tail.
- garayuru *N* wild cassava,  
*Cochlospermum sp.* (probably a  
songword). *Syn* ḡandigulk.
- garjar?-yu- *V5tr* to spear (fish)  
with wire spear.
- garḡuṇja? *N* nankeen night-heron.  
*Syn* gaṇ?jur.

garṃmak *N* 1. funeral ceremony.

2. circumcision area.

garṃmaṇ *N* tree frogs, including the green tree frog.  
*Cf.* bakunḃakun, ɲa:lal, wu:kaṛa.

garṃmuṇ? *N* type of witchetty grub found in walaṇ? (*Eucalyptus tectifera*) and baḃkbaḃk (*Sterculia quadrifida*). *Cf.* ṇi:mbu?, ga:muṇ?.

gaṛṇgaṛṇ? *N* a tree, family *Celastraceae*, perhaps *Denhamia obscura* (*N.* Scarlett).

gatapaṇa *N* buffalo. *Syn* ɟi:tun, ɲanapara?.

gataru *N* coconut, *Cocos nucifer*.

gaṭ-ḃu- *V5intr* to be(come) stuck or bogged; to choke (i.e. to have something stuck in the throat).  
*Caus* gaṭ-(ḃu-n-)maṛa- to choke, to strangle.

gaṭa- *V4tr* to hold, to grasp.  
ɟini-gaṭa-ṇ-mi- to have one's hands on one's hips.

ga:ṭu- *N* (brother's) son or daughter.

ga:ṭuṛa *Adv* today, nowadays.

gaw?- *Prf* See wilaṇ?-gu-.

gawačark *N* a tree with edible fruits, possibly *Drypetes*.

gawaṛ?-yu- *V5intr* See gabaṛ?-yu-.

gawukaḃa *N* stingray.

gawuk-u- *V5tr* to cover up; to bury.  
Variant of gabuk-u-.

gaya?-ḃa- *Vtr* (ends in *Fact* -ṭa-) to make (bed).

gayit, ga:yit *N* See gajit.

gaykay- *N* uncle (mother's brother).

gaypaḃ? *N* certain wattles including *Acacia auriculaeformis*.

gayu *Interj* come on!

gaywar *N* jellyfish.

gela *N* name of a subsection (masc.). Fem. galiḃan?.

gičba?-yu- *V5intr* to dance (holding branches).

giliṇ *N* part of spear where spearhead is attached to shaft.

giliri? *N* a yellowish clay.  
*Cf.* buḃalak.

giliḃilḃ *N* a small plant found on hills.

gi:n- *Prf* See waṇa-.

giṇḃil *N* immature water lily root corm (buṛpa?).

giṇḃaḃa? *N* shortcut.  
giṇḃaḃa? + lima wa:ni-Ø We are going by shortcut.

girgit *N* kurraḃong tree, *Brachychiton diversifolium*.  
*Syn* bulgut (more common).

giri? *N* reddish black fruit of water lily, *Nymphaea* sp.  
Differs from ḃatam in its reddish tint.

giriṇḃiriṇḃ? *N* necklace; grass used in making necklaces.  
*Cf.* ṇaṇar?.

giriri?-yu- *V5tr* to speak well of (rare word).

giṛba *N* wild passionfruit, *Passiflora foetida*. (Old loan-word from 'creeper'.)

giṛiri? *N* ghost gum, *Eucalyptus papuana*, and some similar white gums. *Syn* ḃarawḃ.

giṭ *Vtr* (root form only) to spear. *Cf.* la-.

giw-u- *V5intr* to smile. Also ḃakal-giw-u-.

gočon *N* name of a subsection (fem.). Masc. gojok.

gojok *N* name of a subsection (masc.). Fem. gočon.

- gubaŋku, guwaŋku, wuwaŋku *N*  
taipan snake.
- gubiji *N* loggerhead turtle.
- gučga- *V6Atr* to take (dogs)  
hunting.
- guđam?-bu- *V5intr* to fly away.
- guđarpuy *Adv* morning; tomorrow.  
guđa-guđarpuy morning.  
guđarpuy-wiŋipu day after  
tomorrow.
- gu:đu *N* dry land, semi-desert.
- guđučurk *N* type of skink lizard.
- guđurku? *N* brolga. *Syn* baŋami.
- guđuwuru *N* strong west wind.  
*Cf.* balali, jičiwuŋu.
- guđaŋ?-yu-, guyaŋ?-yu- *V5tr*  
to roast (in oven). *Syn* gu:ŋa-.
- gujuk, guyak *N* bitter, bad-tasting,  
salty. Also ɖa:-gujuk.
- gujara?, guyaŋ? *N* stone spear.  
*Syn* ŋambi, wariman, warɬambal.
- gujaŋk *N* water (uncommon word).  
*Syn* gapu. *Cogn:* Ngandi (gu-)jaŋk.
- gukari- *Vltr* to hunt, to go  
hunting for.
- guku *N* honey, especially without  
wax. *Cf.* ŋaŋa.
- gulgul-u- *V5intr* (bees) to buzz.  
*Cf.* waw-u-.
- guliŋiri? *N* adult male sandy  
(agile) wallaby (baraŋgal).  
*Syn* jitbiŋiri.
- gulkiya *N* moon. gulkiya-ŋiniŋ  
ground snail, probably  
*Xanthostemon* sp.
- gulk-u- *V5tr* to cut, to sever,  
to cut in two. *Cf.* ɖak-u-.
- gulpaŋu? *N* long yam, *Vigna*  
*vexillata*. *Syn* yukuwa?, bunbun?.
- gulpu? *N* a tree, *Tristania*  
*lactiflua*. *Syn* wuŋburk.
- gul-u- *V5intr* to stay back or  
behind; (flood) to halt, to  
stop spreading.
- gu:lu *N* heron sp. (used some-  
what inconsistently).
- gulukulu? *N* a paperbark with  
small leaves, *Melaleuca*  
*acacioides*.
- guluŋurwa *N* inactive, unable  
to walk.
- guluwukbuk *N* 1. fighting stick.  
*Syn* biŋku?.
2. small dark bird in jungles.
- guluykuluy *N* tawny frogmouth  
(owl). *Syn* ɖuđuŋuđu.
- guŋa? *N* skin; tree bark; lips.
- guŋa?bu- *V6Btr* or guŋa?-bu- *Vtr*  
(with bu-) to skin, to remove  
the skin of (related to guŋa?).
- guŋaŋaŋa? *N* grey-crowned  
babbler (bird).
- guŋga? *N* greedy. *Inch* guŋga?-ɖi-,  
as in guŋga?-ɖi-ri + ŋay ŋaŋa-gu  
He is greedy for food (*Dative*).
- guŋiban, guŋiwan *N* red-collared  
lorikeet. *Syn* ɭindirič.
- guŋiči *N* shit (this word is  
ruder than ɖuri) guŋiči-ɖiku  
(see ɖiku).
- guŋiriŋiri? *N* a tree with sharp  
leaves, *Bossia bossiaeooides*.  
Often confused with ɭiriŋiri?.
- Cogn:* Ngandi (gu-)ɭiriŋiri?.
- guŋiwan *N* See guŋiban.
- guŋku *N* many. guŋku-miri many  
times.
- guŋgu?-yu- *V5intr* to go away.
- guŋuč *N* clothes (loanword).
- guŋuk *N* neck, throat.
- guŋun *N* belly; palm of hand,  
sole of foot. guŋun-miri  
pregnant.



- gūlunbałkara *N* little pied cormorant. (Contains gūlun.)
- gūlunbułalak (gūlun-bułalak) *N* water python, *Liasis fuscus*. *Syn* gałča, etc.
- gūlungur *N* a type of 'sandridge goanna'. Similar to bijay?
- gūlutuk, gūlututuk *N* peaceful dove. *Cf.* bugužbuguž.
- gūluwičbič *N* bird *sp.*
- gu:ma *N* naked; empty; empty-handed, destitute. gu:ma + ŋay ma:ni-gu He has no money; He is destitute for money (Dative).
- gumbu *N* a shrub with soft edible white fruits, *Securinega virosa*; this term applies especially to the fruits. *Cf.* bułuruka?
- gumili *N* herb with edible roots, *Psoralea badocana* (N. Scarlett).
- gumułu *N* white-necked heron. *Syn* buralaŋ?
- gumur *N* brisket (body part).
- gunal *N* speech, language.
- gunbuŋ?-yu- *V5intr* to chant (in gu:wa moiety rituals). *Cf.* biŋkar?-yu-.
- gunduru *N* probably the olive python, *Liasis olivaceus*.
- gunga *N* pandanus trees, *Pandanus spp.* *Cf.* muyuru?, gunjak.
- gunga- *V6Atr* to protect, to help out of a difficult spot.
- gunguy?-yu- *V5intr* to be heavy.
- gunjak *N* flesh of pandanus nuts. *Cf.* gunga, muyuru?
- gunjaraŋ *N* hook spear with hooks on one side. *Cf.* mađarpira, gałungu.
- gunuŋu *N* black-headed rock python.
- guŋaŋ?-gu- *V5intr* to move around all night.
- guŋarkuŋar *N* a small plant, probably a fern. *Cf.* gūlwaŋ. *Syn* guraŋguraŋ?
- guŋiŋara? *N* tree with large red figs, *Ficus racemosa*. *Syn* gađakulum, manaŋuŋaŋ.
- guŋiŋmiya? *N* green tree snake.
- guŋjilk *N* grass *sp.* sucked for sweet liquid, *Heteropogon sp.* *Syn* ba:mbič.
- guŋuŋ *N* (rain) cloud. *Cf.* wukuŋ.
- guŋja?-đi- *Vintr* (ends in *Inch* -đi-) to be afraid or frightened; to be afraid of (Dative). guŋja?-đi-ri + ra ba:pi-gu I am afraid of the snake. *Cf.* -buŋk.
- guŋjułu? *N* a light-coloured goanna with spots, found in hollow trees, similar to gaŋaŋa?
- guŋjuy- *N* wife. *Syn* galay-.
- guŋul *N* shade.
- gu:ŋ *N* finger(s), hand; claw.
- gu:ŋga?-yu- *V5tr* to assist, to help out (by working). gu:ŋga?-yu-na + ŋa + gali They helped him (Accusative).
- guŋuru? *N* woollybutt tree, *Eucalyptus miniata*.
- gupa *N* 1. nape.  
2. hill.
- gupulu *N* body.
- guraŋguraŋ? *N* fern (?) *sp.* *Syn* guŋarkuŋar.
- gurčit? *N* pied butcherbird.
- gurka *N* 1. penis.  
2. root of tree (occasional meaning). gurka-miri male (having a penis).
- gurkur *N* vein, artery, tendon sinew. *Syn* malkbič.

- gurmul *N* circumcised boy,  
'young man'.
- gurmulu? *N* blue-tongued lizard.  
*Syn* dapanan?
- garpala *N* knee; kneecap.
- garpulu *N* plain (flat country).
- gu:ru- *V6intr* to hang, to be  
perched, to be aloft.
- guručučur? *N* whistling kite  
(a hawk).
- guruka- *V6Atr* to carry on shoulder  
or back.
- guruku *Adv* later.
- gurumba *N* pied (magpie) goose.  
*Syn* lanuṇa.
- gurumu? *N* 1. water rat.  
2. tree sp.
- guruṇ- *N* avoidance relative  
(‘cousin’ in Pidgin English).  
*Cf.* ja:buṛ.
- guruṅgu?-yu- *V5intr* to travel  
along.
- gurupa- *V4tr* to give. gurupa-ṛa +  
ra-na + ṇay He gave (it) to me.  
*Recip* gurupa-ṇ-mi- to share.  
mil-gurupa- to show to.
- gurupil *N* short-necked tortoise sp.  
Possibly *Elseya dentata*. *Cf.*  
maḡalač, yalbuyalbu.
- guruṛ?-yu- *V5intr* to take a (wide)  
detour. (Used especially in the  
context of avoiding one's mother-  
in-law or other tabooed relatives,  
who may be expressed here in the  
dative; see Text 30.1.)
- guruṭu? *N* large saltwater fish,  
perhaps the Queensland groper.
- guruwuḡuk *N* butcherbird.
- guruwul *N* a tall, straight paper-  
bark tree found in brackish  
swamps and at the edge of  
billabongs, *Melaleuca cajaputi*.  
*Syn* jiri.
- gur?war-yu- *V5tr* to shoot.
- gu:ṛa- *V2intr* to be shy or  
ashamed.
- guṛak *N* throat. *Syn* bupup.
- guṛarič-u-, guṛariṇ?-ju- *V5intr*  
to go around.
- guṛar-ṭi- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ṭi-) *N*  
to grow up.
- guṛawač-u- *V5intr* to sit by  
oneself.
- guṛčal? *N* smooth-barked blood-  
woods such as *Eucalyptus*  
*bleeseri* (N. Scarlett).
- guṛič *N* a fan-palm with edible  
shoots, probably *Livistona*  
*loriphylla*. *Syn* ja:jak.
- guṛṭa *N* fire (campfire or bush  
fire). *Cf.* wurk.
- guṛ-u- *V5intr* to be sick.
- guṛuk *N* grog (loanword).
- guṛul?-yu- *V5tr* to head for.
- guṛurguṛ *N* finch sp. (bird).
- guṛ?-yu- *V5tr* to incite, to egg  
on (to do something violent or  
bad).
- gutū? *N* a tree with edible nuts,  
*Terminalia grandiflora*.  
*Syn* ḡiṇ?ḡiṇ.
- guṭurkuṭurk *N* dove sp. *Cf.*  
bugučbuguč.
- gu:ṭa- *V3tr* to cook in stone  
oven. *Syn* guḡa!?-yu-.
- guṭa- *N* younger brother or  
sister.
- guṭara- *N* sister's daughter's  
child.
- guṭuṇ *N* a water lily sp.
- gu:wak *N* koel (bird).  
*Syn* ḡu:waw?, walkuli.
- guwaḡ *Adv* halfway, part of the

- way (between two points).  
 guwa! + ɲay ɲi:na-ɲa He sat  
 down on the way (before com-  
 pleting his journey).  
 guwa!-ɲuru? halfway. Cf. ɲu:ra-,  
 buɖap-u-.
- guwaɭulu *N* southern stone curlew  
 (bush curlew). *Syn* guwiɭuŋ?.
- guwaɭ?-yu- *V5intr* to go looking  
 for (Dative).
- guwaɾku *N* taipan snake. Variant  
 of gubaɾku.
- guwiɭuŋ? *N* southern stone curlew.  
*Syn* guwaɭulu.
- guya *N* fish (general term).  
 Multiple guya-guya, guya-wuya.
- guyak *N* Variant of gujak.
- guyaɭ?-yu- *V5tr* to cook in stone  
 oven. Variant of guɖaɭ?-yu-.
- guyaɲa- *V2tr* to listen to.
- guyara? *N* stone spear. Variant  
 of gujara?.
- guyk-u- *V5tr* 1. to spit out.  
 2. to apply paint to.  
 3. to make (someone) sacred.
- guyupa- *V2intr* to die; (fire) to  
 become extinguished. Past tense  
 guyupa-na. gapu-guyupa- to be  
 thirsty. mar-guyupa- to be  
 unhappy. Cf. mu:kuy-ɬi-.

## J

- ja:buɾ- *N* mother-in-law's brother.  
 Sometimes interchanged with  
 guruŋ-.
- ja:ča *N* kangaroo or wallaby  
 (general term).
- jačbaɭaɭ?-yu- *V5intr* to skid,

to slide along.

- jaɖak *N* honey bee (*Trigona* sp.),  
 'girl sugarbag', called  
 ɲalyurwa in Nunggubuyu.

- jaɖaw?-wu- *V5intr* to be daylight.  
 jaɖaw?-wu-na + ɲay It was  
 daylight.

- jaɖa-yu- *V5intr* to operate a  
 firestick, to make a spark with  
 a firestick.

- jagur?gur *N* a plant said to have  
 small, reddish edible root  
 portions, probably *Eleocharis*  
*sphacelata*. *Syn* marɲuy.

- ja:jak, ja:yak *N* a fan-palm with  
 edible shoots, probably  
*Livistona loriphylla*. *Syn*  
 guɾič.

- jaka *N* long, tall.

- ja:l *N* desirous, wanting.  
 ja:l + ɲara wa:ni-ɲa-ɾawu  
 I would like to go. *Inch*  
 ja:l-ɬi- or ja:l-ɬi- to want  
 (Dative). ja:l-ɬi-ri + ɲay  
 gapu-gu He wants water.

- jala *N* shellfish flesh.

- jalaɖi? *N* plant with edible  
 root swellings, *Cayratia*  
*trifolia*. *Syn* majalaɖi?,  
 buwakul, yu:kaɖa.

- jalagu? *N* an edible water plant,  
*Aponogeton elongatus*.

- jalala-yu- *V5intr* to crawl.

- jalamiɬa *N* a hawk with hovering  
 habits, probably the peregrine  
 falcon.

- jalanda *N* shrub with yellowish  
 fruit in rainy season.

- jala?-yu- *V5tr* to give away,  
 to distribute.

- jali? *N* wet.

- jalkurk *N* certain tree orchids  
 including *Dendrobium* sp.  
 Cf. ɖaɭgir, ɖu:ɲa?.

- jalkwar-u- *V5tr* to waste,  
to not use (e.g. food).
- jalma *N* 1. round yam which must be  
soaked before eating, *Dioscorea*  
*?sativa var. rotunda*.  
2. grasshopper *sp.*
- ja:1ŋ *N* spinifex grass, *Triodia sp.*
- jalpur *N* grass *sp.*
- ja:lulu? *N* wild grape, *Ampelocissus*  
and/or *Cissus spp.* *Cf.* ganipar.
- ja:l? *N* having holes or cuts,  
riddled with holes.
- jalačala? *N* a small tree,  
*Banksia dentata*.
- jalajala?-yu- *V5intr* to walk  
unsteadily, to stagger.
- jalakjalak *N* floating freshwater  
weed with yellow flowers,  
*Utricularia aurea*. May apply  
also to some other water plants.
- ja:li *N* 1. armband.  
2. jungle vine whose leaves are  
used as armbands, *Flagellaria*  
*indica*. *Syn* ɟarwir, minga?,  
ŋaŋbak.
- jalkwar-u- *V5tr* to unwrap (e.g.  
spearhead, from paperbark  
wrapping).
- jalpur-u- *V5intr* to plunge into  
water.
- jama *N* child, baby. Also jama-ŋu.  
*Pl* jama-yala, jama-wač,  
jama-yala-wač, or jama-rku:li.
- jamandar *N* a plant similar to  
ŋačukura?.
- jamba *N* bark shelter.
- jambač *N* hunter (including  
fisherman), the one who is doing  
the hunting, the one who has  
successfully hunted.
- jambaka? *N* billycan.
- jambał *N* stone oven.
- jambalak *N* freshwater eel-tailed  
catfish ('nailfish') *sp.*  
*Cf.* gaŋŋal, bačar, etc.
- jambaŋ *N* a small plant.
- jambapa? *N* snail, especially  
brownish freshwater snails,  
used as blades for slicing  
yams (jalma). *Cf.* miŋduŋ?.
- jamulu?, ja:mulu? *N* a swamp  
plant with edible tubers,  
probably a form of *Triglochin*  
*procera*. *Cf.* bindar?.
- janamar *N* a small herb with  
small, flat potato,  
*Microstemma sp.* *Syn* mu:ŋa?.
- janda *N* a small goanna,  
apparently the young of banguŋa.
- janga *N* long-necked tortoise,  
*Chelodina ?rugosa*, especially  
the female. *Cf.* bakara.
- jan?ga *N* water goanna.  
*Syn* jarka?, wan?gabu.
- janabu *N* bamboo spear.
- jan?ba *N* banyan tree, *Ficus*  
*virens*. *Syn* bačay.
- jančil *N* wallaby *sp.*, perhaps  
nail-tailed wallaby,  
*Onychogalea fraenata* (but some  
informants say this is distinct  
from ŋałamara).
- janmijanmi? *N* file snake,  
*Acrochordus javanicus*.  
*Syn* jaykuŋ.
- ja:fi? *N* conkerberry, a shrub  
with thorns and edible black  
fruits, *Carissa lanceolata*.
- janŋalan *N* darter, 'diver duck'.  
*Cf.* garakarak, jiŋaŋdar.
- jan?-gu- *V5tr* to draw, to write;  
to make, to build. *Cf.* bu:ča-.
- jangur *N* frilled lizard. *Syn*  
mirwa?.
- japačayan *N* wire spear with a  
single iron prong.

- jap-*qara*- *Vintr* (contains *da:ra*-)  
to stand up (not a common stem).  
jap-*qa*- *Vtr* (ends with *Fact -ta*-)  
to erect, to stand (something) up.
- japu? *N* a stinging ant *sp.* similar  
to meat ants, but living in the  
ground rather than in an ant-  
mound. *Cf.* *!irbuku*, *qa:ti?*.
- jara<sup>q</sup>atbuwa *N* chestnut rail (bird).
- jarajara? *Adv* jarajara? + *dali*  
*wa:ni*- $\emptyset$  They go all over the  
place, they go all around.
- jarak *N* silver gull.
- jarañ?-ju- *Vstr* to pull.
- jarangay? *N* little finger,  
'pinky'.
- jaray? *N* type of 'wild onion'.
- jar?-*qa*- *Vtr* (ends in *Fact -ta*-)  
to spear.
- jargit? *N* freshwater mussel.  
*Cogn.* *Nunggubuyu jariq*.  
*Syn* *mambal?*.
- jarka? *N* water goanna. *Syn*  
*wan?gabu*. *Cf.* *jan?ga*.
- jark-u- *Vstr* to carve out (e.g.  
'belly' of dugout canoe).
- jar?mawul *N* yam similar to  
*qawalala?*, probably *Ipomoea sp.*  
*Cf.* also *qa:w?*.
- jarpi 1. *N* crooked, bent.  
2. *Adv* all around, in various  
directions. *jarpi* + *qay wa:ni*- $\emptyset$   
He goes all around. *bala-jarpi*  
left (side). *Cf.* *jarpu<sup>q</sup>ay?*,  
*wiñ?gu*.
- jarpu<sup>q</sup>ay? *N* *bala-jarpu<sup>q</sup>ay?* left  
(side). *Cf.* *jarpi*, *wiñ?gu*.
- jaru<sup>tu</sup> *N* female agile wallaby  
(*barangal*); sometimes also female  
rock wallaby (*gañ<sup>q</sup>awul?*).
- jarwa<sup>lk</sup> *N* shoulder blade.  
*Syn* *mi<sup>li</sup>pi?*.
- jarwa<sup>t</sup> *N* string worn during
- mourning. *Syn* *mačarwa<sup>rk</sup>*.
- ja:ɾ? *N* shade, shadow. *Syn*  
*mali?*.
- ja<sup>ra</sup> *N* a tree with immense  
thorns, good for shade,  
*Cathormion umbellatum*.  
*Syn* *miñi ča*.
- ja<sup>t</sup>-*du*- *Vstr* to chop down; to  
chop out (e.g. belly of dugout  
canoe). *Cf.* *du:-*, *durka-*.
- ja<sup>ta</sup>m *N* centipede. *Cf.*  
*qarambali?*.
- ja<sup>wa</sup>ɾ?-yu- *Vstr* to fly around.
- jawulpa *N* old man.
- jawur?wur *N* Variant of *jagur?gur*.
- ja<sup>w</sup>?-wu- *Vstr* to take away  
from (Dative).  
ja<sup>w</sup>?-wu-na + *qu-qu* + *qay* He took  
it away from you.  
yara-ja<sup>w</sup>?-wu- to steal from.
- ja:yak *N* fan-palm. Variant of  
*ja:jak*.
- jayku<sup>q</sup> *N* file snake, *Acrochordus*  
*javanicus*. *Syn* *jañmijañmi*.
- jibuk-u- *Vstr* to go fishing  
(especially with hook and line).  
Variant *jiwuk-u-*.
- ji:či? *N* sore, wound, injury.  
*ji:či?*-miri wounded, having  
sores.
- jičir? *N* tree *sp.*
- jiči<sup>wu</sup>ru *N* light west wind.  
*Cf.* *gu<sup>du</sup>wuru*, *balali*.
- ji<sup>q</sup>ap-u- *Vstr* to sneak along.
- jikar? *N* wart, boil.
- jikay? *N* small bird *sp.*
- jikbi? *N* owlet-nightjar (owl).
- jiki<sup>li</sup>rič? *N* (probably) hooded  
parrot.
- jilara? *N* gutta percha tree  
(has dangerous milky sap),  
*Excoecaria parvifolia*.

- jilili *N* water whistle-duck.  
*Syn* muḡali?. *Cf.* jiribiyuk.
- jilijil? *N* 'rainbird' (not koel),  
perhaps a woodswallow.
- jim?-bu- *V5tr* to poke, to cut  
strips in (e.g. paperbark, with  
stick, before stripping it off).
- jimi? *N* leech. *Syn* ñi:kur?.
- jimikamba *N* small saltwater fish  
with long tail which jumps.
- jimiṇḍi? *N* wire spear. *Syn*  
jimugu?, wiḷmur.
- jimit *N* a tree with edible 'apples',  
*Planchonella sp.*
- jimugu? *N* wire spear. *Syn*  
jimiṇḍi?, wiḷmur.
- jinbirk *N* a small tree used in  
making a yellowish dye, *Morinda*  
*citrifolia*.
- jingirič *N* marble tree, *Owenia*  
*vernica*. *Syn* baḡar?.  
Fruit: ḡaḡa?.
- jin?girič *N* small green frog *sp.*
- jingu, jingul *N* flesh of pandanus  
nut. *Syn* guṇjak.
- jinma *N* whaler shark (river shark).  
*Cf.* banguča.
- jiṇi *N* buttock.
- jiṇjalma? *N* crab, especially blue  
swimmer crab, *Portunus*  
*pelagicus*.
- jiṇaṇḍar *N* probably the female  
darter ('diver duck'), which in  
contrast to the male has a white  
breast. *Cf.* garakarak, jaḡaḡan.
- jip-u- *V5intr* (spear) to hit the  
ground, to be planted firmly in  
the ground; (bird) to land.
- jirbili *N* bony bream, 'bonefish'.
- jiri *N* a paperbark *sp.* found in  
brackish swamps or at the edges  
of billabongs. *Syn* guruwul.
- jiri? 1. *N* a yam similar to  
jaray?.
2. *N* little corella (bird).  
*Syn* ḡalalak.
3. *Interj* Oops!
- jiribiyuk *N* grass whistle-duck.  
*Cf.* jilili, muḡali?.
- jiriḍiḍi *N* kingfisher, e.g.  
forest kingfisher. *Syn*  
yaral?yaral.
- jirikiki? *N* grass owl or barn  
owl.
- jirimičirimi *N* willy wagtail  
(bird).
- jirkiṇ? *N* small rat *sp.*  
*Cf.* ḡurumul?, ḡuṭiṇ?, gurumu?.
- jirkjirk *N* large brownish  
freshwater snail used as bait.  
Distinct from jambapa?.
- jirḡama? *N* echidna, porcupine.
- jirḡmiṇ *N* firefly. *Syn*  
milpuḡ?.
- jirpaḷ *N* bark fibres, especially  
from kurrajong (baḷgur), used  
in making string (garam).  
*Cf.* ḡayark.
- jirpaḡa *N* ironwood, *Erythroleum*  
*chlorostachyum*. *Syn* bu:č,  
miṇiyar?, maypiṇ?. Considered  
by some to be a Nunggubuyu  
word, but Nunggubuyu has  
yirbaḡa.
- jir-yu- *V5intr* (bird) to brace  
for landing.
- jir?-yu- *V5intr* to go down.
- jirambulk *N* tree *sp.*  
(*N.* Scarlett: *Erythrina sp.*).
- jiṛikič *N* quail, especially  
brown quail.
- jiṛir *N* 1. grass-like plants  
with fairly sharp edges found  
near water, probably including  
sedges, *Cyperus spp.*
2. small bird found around  
water. *Cf.* ḡuṇḡululuk.

- jiɾ?jiɾ *N* tree *sp.* Applied by some informants to *Drypetes* (Nunggubuyu jirijirig) and *Diospyros sp.* (Nunggubuyu miriɾan), two similar small-leaved fruit-bearing rainforest shrubs at Numbulwar, but perhaps applied to other *spp.* in true Ritharngu country.
- jiɾk *N* painted design.
- jitbiɖi *N* archerfish ('riflefish'). *Syn* bilɬu?, ɳatban?, waɬara?.
- jitbiliri *N* male agile wallaby (baranggal). *Syn* guliɾiri.
- jiɬjiɬ-bu- *Vtr* (ends in bu-) to pull out the entrails of (e.g. kangaroos or emu carcass).
- jiw? *N* mil-jiw? in sacred state (said of a man's possessions or his wife just after his death and before mortuary rituals are completed). Probably contains mil- from mi:l 'eye'.
- jiwir?-ɖa- *Vtr* (ends in *Fact* -ɬa-) to pester, to hound.  
jiwir?-ɖa-man + ɳa + ɳay He pesters him (e.g. always asking for food).
- jiwuk-u- *V5intr* Variant of jibuk-u-.
- jiwungu *N* swamp pheasant (pheasant coucal).
- jučuč *Adv* to far away. wa:ni-ɳa + ɳay jučuč He went far away.  
*Cogn* Nunggubuyu jujuj.
- juɖup-u- *V5intr* to go in.
- juɖu?-yu- *V5intr* to squat, to sit on one's haunches (especially in a creek, trying to catch fish).
- jugu?-yu- *V5tr* to get (someone) to sing. jugu?-yu-na + ɳa + ɖali They got him to sing.
- jujuy?-yu- *V5tr* to push.
- ju:k *N* sacred (applied, for example, to boys living in seclusion in the bush before their circumcision).
- jukaɬ *N* freshwater long-tom (fish). *Syn* juɳuɖu, biɖam.
- juku *N* small head louse.  
*Cf.* miɳikar, ɖilmur.
- jukur *N* fat (noun).  
jukur-bayaɳu fat (adjective), corpulent.
- julka *N* ground, dirt, earth.
- julukuɳ *N* edible root like small barkan?. (*N.* Scarlett: *Parsonsia leichhardtii*.)
- jululu?-yu- *V5tr* to pour out, to spill (liquid).
- julwaɖak *N* white-rumped miner (bird).
- julɬ-u- *V5intr* or *V5tr* to go past. mi:l-juɬ-u- to see past.
- julɬu? *N* trumpet (triton) shell, *Syrinx aruanus*.
- juɬu? *N* lancewood tree, *Acacia shirleyi*.
- juɬubu *N* straw-necked ibis (bird).
- juɬur-yu- *V5intr* to jump into water. *Caus.* juɬur-(yu-n-) maɾa- to put (boat, etc.) into water.
- jumbuyɳu *N* small, chirping bird *sp.*
- jumula?, ju:mula? *N* coastal whistling tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia*. *Syn* warapangi. *Cf.* watbar, ya:wuɳ. Terms for the two *Casuarina spp.* and for *Grevillea pteridifolia* are often interchanged.
- jumuɬulu? *N* young euro (murpungula).
- jumur?-yu- *V5intr* to jump repeatedly, (kangaroo) to hop along.
- jun-ɖu- *V5tr* to pound (with a stone). *Rdp* junɖu?-jun-ɖu-.  
*Cf.* barpu-.
- jununguyaɳu *N* green turtle.  
*Syn* ɳalaliki.



juṅgayi *N* 'lawyer' or 'manager'  
(relation a person has to the  
ceremonies and land of his  
mother's clan).

juṅguṇ *N* bereaved spouse (widow,  
widower). *Cf.* -barpa  
(mun-barpa), miḍiku? (guṇ-miḍiku),  
-jiw? (mil-jiw?).

juṇuḍu *N* freshwater long-tom fish.  
*Syn* biḍam, juka!.

jupi? *N* a fruit-bearing shrub,  
*Antidesma ghaesembilla*.

jurjur *N* (running) flood.  
*Syn* waračara. *Cf.* naṛkula.

jur-yu- *V5tr* to pour on  
(Accusative).  
jur-yu-na + ra-na + ṇay He poured  
(it) on me. *Rf?* jur-yu-n-mi-  
to pour on oneself.

jur?-yu- *V5intr* to go into water.  
*Caus* jur?-(yu-n-)maṛa- to soak,  
to immerse in water.

juṛamu *N* war party, group of  
warriors. *Cf.* galka?.

juṛ?bu- *V6Btr* or juṛ?bu- *Vtr*  
(with bu-) to point to (some-  
thing); to lead the way to  
(something).

juṛir? *N* great bowerbird.

juṛum?juṛum *N* lotusbird (can stand  
on water lily leaves).

juṭbila *N* osprey.

ju:y? *N* sap or gum from trees,  
especially bloodwood (ḍumu!u?).

juy?-yu- *V5tr* to push; to send.  
juy?-yu-na + ṇa + ḍali They sent  
him (away). juy?-yu-na + ra-ku  
+ ṇay They sent (him) to me  
(Dative).

## L

lili *adv* to here, in this  
direction. lili-kuru? (on) this  
side.

## L

la-, lan-, lana- *Vtr* (*irreg*)  
to spear, to strike with a  
spear. *Cf.* barč-u-, jar?-ḍa-.

laḁa- *V6Atr* to tell; to call  
(by name).  
laḁa-wala + ṇara-ku + ṇay  
ḍa:wu He told me (Dative) the  
word. *Cf.* waṇa-.

lakbu- *V6tr* or lak-bu- *Vtr*  
(with bu-) to rip (flesh of  
turtle, etc.) from shell.

lakiriṇ? *N* that sort of thing.  
gapu lakiriṇ? something like  
freshwater (used in describing  
saltwater).

laklak *N* a small dragon lizard,  
slightly bigger than ḍalpur?,  
perhaps a form of the two-  
lined dragon.

la?la *N* modern metal axe.  
*Cf.* biṇjara?, gapamaḍa.

laḁa?-yu- *V5tr* to rip.  
*Cogn* Nunggubuyu -laḁa-.

lambu?-yu- *V5intr* to dance  
(in a corroboree). *Cf.*  
wakal?-yu-.

lami *N* hip. lami-ṇuṛu? + ṇay  
ṇu:ra-na He was lying down on  
his side. *Cf.* ṇulči, wakin.

lanapu *N* cypress pine, *Callitris*  
*intratropica*. *Syn* gaṇgi?.

landa? *N* freshwater perch *sp.*,  
probably a grunter.

languna *N* pied (magpie) goose.  
*Syn* gurumba.

la:ṇgurk *N* 1. crayfish *sp.*  
*Syn* ḍakawa?, mačakutu?. *Cf.*  
muraṇapu?.

2. ground-dwelling grub or  
slug.

laṇlaṇ? *N* two-lined dragon.  
*Syn* ḍalpur?. *Cf.* laklak.

la:par *N* pigeons, especially  
with crests.

- ɭap-u- *V5intr* to come loose.  
*Caus* ɭap-(u-n-)maɾa- to  
 loosen; to turn on (a water  
 tap).
- ɭa:r *N* chips from spearhead of  
 stone spear (wariman); any  
 blade. ɭa:r-miri having a  
 sharp blade.
- ɭarakič *N* hollow tree or log.  
*Syn* ɖupun.
- ɭaray?-yu- *V5tr* to cook on open  
 fire. *Cf.* baɣa-, ruwam?-bu-,  
 ɭirma?-yu-, etc.
- ɭarbaw?-wu-, ɭarwaw?-wu- *V5intr*  
 to spill out. *Caus* ɭarbaw?-maɾa-  
 to spill.
- ɭark-bu- *Vtr* (with bu-) to cut  
 down the middle. *Cf.* gul-k-u-.
- ɭar?ɭar-yu- *V5tr* to cut up.
- ɭarpam *N* inactive, just sitting  
 all day. ɭarpam-dara- *Vintr*  
 (with da:ra-) to just sit all  
 day.
- ɭarwa *N* long wooden pipe. *Syn*  
 ma:ta, bamutuka?. *Cogn*  
 Nunggubuyu ɭaruwa.
- ɭarwaw?-wu- *Vintr* See ɭarbaw?-wu-.
- ɭar?-yu- *V5intr* to be(come) broken.  
*Caus* ɭar?-(yu-n-)maɾa-.
- ɭaw- *V6Btr* to bite.
- ɭaw-u- *V5intr* to go hunting.
- ɭaw?-wu- *V5intr* to come out (of the  
 ground). *Caus* ɭaw?-(wu-n-)maɾa-  
 to pull out of the ground.
- ɭaypa *N/Adv* (on) the other side.
- ɭika- *V2intr* to rain. ɭika-Ø +  
 ɲay It is raining.
- ɭimbik *N* flat grinding stone.
- ɭindiriñ, ɭindirič *N* red-collared  
 lorikeet. *Syn* guliban.
- ɭipal *N* 'spotted bream', a  
 grunter *sp.*
- ɭira *N* tooth; thorn. ɭira-bulal  
 having two points. ɭira-ɲu *Adv*  
 in front, ahead. ɭira-ɲu + ɲay  
 yuɬ-ɖu-n He is running along  
 up ahead. ɭira-kuru? along  
 ahead.
- ɭirawar? *N* honey bee (*Trigona*  
*sp.*). According to some  
 informants, synonymous with  
 ɾirbal?.
- ɭirbuku *N* 1. brownish, dull red.  
 2. meat ant. *Syn* ɲa:ɬi?.
- ɭirčal *N* pond algae; seaweed.  
*Cf.* ɲu:rč.
- ɭiriliri? *N* a shrub with small,  
 jagged leaves, *Grevillea*  
*pungens*. *Cf.* guliriliri?.  
 Terms for this *sp.* and  
*Bossia bossiaoides* are often  
 interchanged.
- ɭirma?-yu- *V5tr* to cook (some-  
 thing) covered up in sand.  
*Cf.* ruwam?-bu-.
- ɭiw-u- *V5intr* 1. (fire) to blaze.  
 2. to be bowlegged.  
*Caus* ɭiw-(u-n-)maɾa- to set  
 (fire).
- ɭiya, ɭi:ya *N* head. ɭiya-ɖal-ɲu  
 greedy, ambitious ('strong-  
 headed').
- ɭiyamuñan *N* sulphur-crested  
 cockatoo. Uncommon word,  
 used as personal name. *Syn*  
 baɖikan, ma:rpu?, etc.
- ɭuka- *V2tr* to eat, to consume;  
 (occasionally) to drink. *Cf.*  
 muɲ-gu-.
- ɭuku *N* foot.
- ɭulawk-u- *V5intr* (carcass) to  
 decompose, to lose skin, to  
 'skin up'.
- ɭul?ɭul? *N* crooked.
- ɭult-dara- (or ɭul-tara-) *Vintr*  
 (with da:ra-) to be tilted.
- ɭult-ɖu- *V5intr* to blow on the  
 didjeridu (yiɖaki).

- ɭuɭumara *N* cane grass such as  
*Phragmites karka*, and spears  
 made from it. *Cf.* ɭindi?, biŋɗay. *maɕakutu?* *N* crayfish. *Syn*  
 ɖakawa?, ɭa:ŋgurk. *Cf.*  
 ɭuɭu?-yu- *V5intr* to drown. *muraɖapu?*  
 ɭumbak-u- *V5intr* to be doubled-up. *maɕarwaɖk* *N* string worn around  
 neck during mourning. *Syn*  
 ɭumbuk *N* a pigeon, probably the  
 bronzewing pigeon. *Cf.* ɭa:par.  
 ɭu:ñ *N* corner.  
 ɭuŋgurma *N* north-east wind.  
 ɭup-u- *V5intr* to bathe, to become  
 immersed in water. *Cf.* ɳaŋ?-gu-  
 buku-ɭup-u- (full moon) to rise.  
*Cf.* ɳalt-ɖu-. *Caus* ɭup-(u-n-)  
 maɖa- to immerse.  
 ɭurgu?-yu- *V5tr* to wash.  
 ɭurja?-yu- *V5intr* to vomit.  
 ɭurkun *N* few, several (e.g. three  
 to five).  
 ɭur?-yu- *V5intr* to stir up water,  
 to make ripples in water; to  
 catch fish in hand-held traps made  
 from sticks, swished around in  
 the water.  
 ɭuɖay *N* an edible snake with spots,  
 perhaps the carpet snake (carpet  
 python).  
 ɭu:-yu- *V5intr* to wade in the water.  
*Cogn* Nunggubuyu -ɭu:ɭa-  
 (\*-ɭu:-ɖa-).
- Cf.* ɳu:rɕ, ɭirɕal.  
*maɕarwaɖk* *N* string worn around  
 neck during mourning. *Syn*  
 jarwaɖ.  
*maɖaɖupa* *N* tall grasses,  
*Sorghum spp.* Distinct from  
 gaɖalbar and wuɭumu.  
*maɖakariɕ* *N* dangerous, violent,  
 'cheeky'. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu  
 maɖagar(i)j.  
*maɖak-u-* *V5intr* to sing with  
 tapsticks (but not didjeridu)  
 in the maɖayin ceremony  
 (public as well as secret  
 portions).  
*maɖalaɕ* *N* short-necked tortoise,  
 perhaps *Emydura australis*.  
*Cf.* yalbuyalbu, gurupiɭ.  
*maɖarpa* *N* name of an important  
 maɖa (social group), including  
 a Ritharngu-speaking sub-maɖa  
 called mala-barɕaray.  
*ma:ɖawk, maɖawk* *N* silver-crowned  
 friarbird.  
*maɖayin* *N* 1. name of an important  
 secret ceremony.  
 2. secret, sacred, taboo.  
*Cf.* ju:k. *Fact* maɖayin-ɖa-  
 to make (something or someone)  
 sacred.

## M

- mabaɭki *N* a tree with edible nuts,  
*Sterculia quadrifida*. *Syn*  
 baɭkbaɭk, mapalɭi?  
 mabaɭpi *N* long yam *sp.* *Syn*  
 mawunu?  
 mabubu *N* wasp *sp.* *Syn* bububu.  
 maɕa *N* algae. Said by some  
 informants to be recently  
 borrowed from other Aboriginal  
 languages and Pidgin English.
- maɖaɭuŋgu* *N* hook spear.  
*Syn* maɖarpira, etc.  
*maɖarak* *N* harmful substance  
 (see ɖaraɖar?).  
*maɖarpira* *N* hook spear. *Syn*  
 gunjaraŋ, ɖaɭuŋgu, maɖaɭuŋgu.  
*majalaɖi?* *N* plant with edible  
 root swellings, *Cayratia*  
*trifolia*. *Syn* jalaɖi?,  
 buwakul, yu:kaɖa.  
*makaɭ* *N* night, evening.  
 ɭakaɖa-ma + ɖali makaɭ-wiyin

- They talked all night. *maka! + nu*  
(It is) night now. *Cf. muṇa.*
- makar, ma:kar N* leg, upper leg,  
thigh.
- makbaṛ N* tapsticks. *Cf. bi!bi!.*
- ma:kiṛi? N* earhole. *Cf. buṭuṛu.*
- ma:kur N* 1. wooden spear with two  
barbed points. *Syn baka?.*  
2. wooden point for dugong  
harpoon (*ṛaṭar*).  
3. spikes on wire spear (*wi!mur*).
- mala N* group, bunch (of people).  
May mean specifically 'local  
group' or 'clan', especially when  
used in compounds like  
*mala-barčaray* 'paperbark tree  
clan'. *Cf. ba:puru, maṭa.*
- ma:lak N* green tree ant.
- malalupa N* Torres Strait (nutmeg)  
pigeon.
- malawiḍiwiḍi N* brown goshawk  
(chickenhawk) and collared  
sparrowhawk. Distinct from  
*garkañ?*
- malga- V6Atr* (father) to beget  
(child), to sire.
- malga? N* alone. *malga? + ṇay*  
*wa:ni-Ø* He is going alone.
- mali? N* shadow; image, picture.  
*mali? + ṇan-ṇu ḍiṛṇ?-ma-ṇ*  
He farts.
- ma:lk N* subsection.  
*ṇa: + ṇi: ma:lk + ja* What is  
your subsection?
- malka N* string with parrot  
(*lindiriñ*) feathers, used as a  
decoration.
- malkbič N* sinew, vein. *Syn muṇḍa,*  
*gurkur.*
- malṇuč N* spirit, soul.
- malpuṛa N* second-born.
- malwan N* a tree used for spear  
shafts, *Hibiscus tiliaceus.*
- Syn ya:!. Cf. mi:li.* Terms for  
this *sp.* and *Thespesia populnea*  
are often interchanged.
- mal?-yu- V5tr* to follow, to  
imitate.
- ma:li? N* flat grinding stone.
- maḷa N* 1. track, path.  
2. scorpion. *Syn ṇarambali?.*  
*Cogn Nunggubuyu maḷa* 'centipede,  
scorpion'.
- maḷaka N* short dillybag.  
*Cf. maḷga.*
- maḷakuy N* 1. rainbow. *Syn mu:č.*  
2. an aquatic snake *sp.*
- maḷamaḷ N* blowfly.
- maḷamar N* firstborn.
- maḷark N* firestick. *Syn ḍuruman?.*
- maḷayara? N* stick used for  
stoking fire.
- maḷčar N* sharp. *liṛa-maḷčar*  
sharp blade ('tooth').
- maḷga N* long dillybag.  
*Cf. maḷaka.*
- maḷkmaḷk-u- V5intr* to be shiny.
- maḷṇ?-gu- V5intr* to come out.  
*Caus maḷṇ?-(gu-n-)maṛa-* to  
force out, to eject.
- mamač N* nut of pandanus tree  
(gunga). *Syn muyuru?.*
- mambal? N* freshwater mussel.  
*Syn jargiṭ.*
- ma:m?-bu- V5intr* to make an  
appearance; to come out,  
(especially) to come out of the  
bush into a camp; to manifest  
oneself. *ḍi:ḷṇ-mam?-bu-* to have  
one's tongue sticking out.  
*gapu-mam?-bu-* water to rise up  
noticeably. *maṛi-mam?-bu-* to be  
angry at (Dative). *Recip*  
*maṛi-mam?-(bu-n-)mi-* to be  
angry with each other, to  
quarrel. *wubur-mam?-bu-*  
to perspire.

ma:mbu? *N* ant eggs.  
 ma:mbur *N* wrist.  
 ma:mburkmamburk *N* 1. Milky Way.  
 2. light, wispy clouds.  
 mamuṇuḷu *N* seaweed; grass *sp.*  
*Cf.* muṇuḷu, yatbuwa.  
 ma:muṛṇ *N* bone point (used for  
 murdering enemies).  
 mananuṇaṇ *N* tree with large red  
 figs, *Ficus racemosa*. *Syn*  
 gaḍakulum, guṇiṇara?  
 manapa- *V4tr* to join, to link;  
 to mix together, to combine.  
*Recip* manapa-ṇ-mi- to come  
 together.  
 manbiṛi *N* freshwater eel-tailed  
 catfish *sp.* *Cf.* baṛḷar, gaṇṇal.  
 man?ga *N* 1. hard ground.  
 2. white clay. *Cf.* gamunuṇḡu?  
 manikay *N* ceremonial singing.  
 manjar? *N* leaf; branch with  
 leaves.  
 manjiri *N* 1. milkwood, *Alstonia*  
*actinophylla*.  
 2. sandfly. *Syn* ḡupḡup,  
 wiṇiṇwiṇiṇ.  
 maṇalk *N* charcoal. *Syn* ṇarkan.  
 maṇaṇililik *N* small tree said to  
 be very similar to jupī?, with  
 reddish fruits, on hills,  
 probably in family *Euphorbiaceae*.  
*Cogn* Nunggubuyu gaṇḡaṇililigi.  
 maṇḡaḡa? *N* beeswax.  
 ma:ṇḡi? *N* edible gum on trees,  
 especially *Terminalia spp.*  
 maṇmaṇ *Adv* no room.  
 maṇ- *Prf* taste. maṇ-guyak salty-  
 tasting. maṇ-miṛiw, maṇ-muṛu  
 tasteless. *Cf.* miyak-.  
 maṇmak *N* all right, satisfactory.  
*Inch* maṇmak-ḡi- to be content.

maṇḡala *N* forked stick in  
 dancing ground. *Cf.* gararak.  
 maṇuḡi *N* eye. *Syn* mi:l, milkir.  
 mapa- *V3tr* to put inside.  
 ga:-mapa- to pack up (into  
 sack, etc.). ḡuḡi-mapa-  
 to wrap around one's wrist.  
 biṭi?-mapa- to wrap around  
 (shoulder, etc.).  
 mapalki? *N* tree with edible nuts,  
*Sterculia quadrifida*.  
 Uncommon: baḷkbaḷk is the  
 common term, while other forms  
 are mabaḷpi and perhaps  
 mapaḷku.  
 mapalku *N* tree *sp.* with nuts.  
 Perhaps a variant of mapalki?  
 maparku *N* woman's fighting stick.  
 mapu? *N* egg.  
 mapuḡumun? *N* a tree, *Terminalia*  
*sp.*; edible gum from this tree.  
 Some informants consider this a  
 synonym of balmaṇ?  
 (*Terminalia carpentariae*), but  
 it may refer properly to other  
 similar *spp.* such as  
*Terminalia ferdinandiana*.  
*Cf.* also murpun?  
 mapuḷkuma? *N* swamp plant with  
 edible tubers. Apparently a  
 synonym of bindar? and  
 ṇarmuḡa? (*Triglochin procera*),  
 but possibly another similar *sp.*  
*Cf.* also jamulu?  
 mapuṇ *N* 1. spider.  
 2. wooden harpoon spike.  
*Cf.* ga:r?  
 mar- *Prf* Refers to emotional  
 state. mar-guyupa- to worry,  
 to be anxious (guyupa- 'to  
 die'). mar-ṇama-ḡi- to be  
 happy.  
 mara *N* head hair; hairs of yams  
 (ganguṛi?).  
 mara *N* Mara (language and  
 tribe).  
 ma:ra- *Vtr* (*irreg*) to get, to

- pick up; to pick (fruits).  
For auxiliary compounds like  
wuñ-mara- see under initial  
element. Root form: baṭ.
- marāča- *N* son's child.
- maramba? *N* eloping, wife-stealing.  
Used as a sort of adverb:  
ma:ra-ma + ña + ṇay maramba?  
He took her (in an) elopement.
- marañaji? *N* small tree *sp.* found  
in hilly country.
- marawal *N* antelope kangaroo.  
*Syn* garčambal.
- marbu- *V6Btr* or mar-bu- *Vtr* (with  
bu-) to feel sorry for, to pity.  
ḍiku-marbu- to feel sorry (for  
someone who has died or been  
injured).
- margul?-yu- *V5intr* to be dizzy,  
to have a headache.
- maričgaḷa *N* ray *sp.*, perhaps the  
shovelnose ray.
- marin *N* watertight pandanus  
basket.
- marja?-ḍi-, marya?-ḍi- *Vintr*  
(with *Inch -ṭi-*) to be hungry.  
*Syn* yaluk-ḍi.
- marṇu? *N* female brush-tailed  
possum (miṭiwiri?). *Cf.*  
ḍa:mbuy?.
- marpaṇ *N* flatback turtle. *Syn*  
gariwa.
- ma:rpu? *N* sulphur-crested  
cockatoo. *Syn* baḍikan,  
ṇirkṇirk.
- mar-u- *V5intr* See mar-yu-.
- marwaḷk *N* medicinal washing fluid  
made from tree bark.
- marya?-ḍi- *Vintr* See marja?-ḍi-.
- mar-yu-, mar-u- *V5intr* to shake.  
waṇa-mar-u- (bird) to flap  
wings; to shake one's arms.  
*Caus* mar-(y)u-n-maṇa- to shake  
(e.g. spear).
- maṇaṇi- *Vintr* (inflected like  
*Inch -ṭi-*) (container) to be  
full; (person) to be full, to  
be sated after eating.
- maṇi- *N* maṇi-ṇu angry, violent,  
enemy. *Cf.* maḍakarič.  
maṇi-miri dangerous, violent.  
maṇi?-yu- *V5intr* to be angry.
- ma:ṇi- *N* mother's mother.
- maṇṇgi *N* aware, knowing.  
maṇṇgi + ṇay He knows.  
*Cf.* ḍuṇa.
- maṇpuy *N* a plant with edible  
root portions, probably  
*Eleocharis sphacelata*. *Syn*  
jaḡur?gur.
- ma:ta *N* long wooden pipe.  
*Syn* ḷarwa, bamutuka?.
- ma:ṭ *N* stick with frayed end  
used in obtaining honey from  
bee hives.
- maṭbu- *V6Btr* to be acquainted  
with (a person).
- maṭbuna *N* 'black bream' (fish),  
*Hephaestus sp.* *Cogn* Nunggubuyu  
maṭbunaṇ.
- maṭiṇḍi? *N* collarbone.
- maṭiṇḷar? *N* a scrubby wattle,  
*Acacia sp.* Said to have long  
thin leaves, long flower spikes.
- maṭun *N* cold weather, winter.
- maṭa *N* patrilineal social group,  
thought to have its own dialect.
- maṭaḷa? *N* 1. coast; beach areas.  
2. saltwater. *Cf.* mu:ṇuk.  
*Cogn* Nunggubuyu maḍaḷag beach.
- mawunu? *N* long yam *sp.* *Syn*  
mabaḷpi.
- mawuraki? *N* whistling tree,  
*Casuarina sp.* It is not clear  
which of the two *spp.* is meant.  
*Cf.* baṇagar?, jumula?.
- mawuṭari *N* a fruit-bearing tree,  
*Ganophyllum falcatum*.

- maya *N* bottom. maya-li? downward.  
maya-ŋa or maya-ŋa low down,  
at the bottom.
- mayabuč *N* a wattle, *Acacia* sp.  
Some speakers treat this as a  
synonym of gaypa!?, others do not  
(*N.* Scarlett).
- mayan *N* 1. neck.  
2. river, creek. mayan-mara-  
*Vtr* to grab by the neck; to  
wrestle with. *Cf.* waŋa.
- maybu- *V6Bintr* ɔa:-maybu- to be  
tired of talking or eating, to  
have a tired mouth.
- maykaraŋ? *N* 1. lightning.  
2. gecko lizard, which makes the  
lightning. *Syn* bandayama?,  
raŋiŋji.
- maypu- *V6Btr* or may-pu- *Vtr* (with  
bu-) to strike (an injured  
person or animal), to finish off.
- may?-yu- *V5intr* (lightning) to  
flash.
- miɔiku? *N* miɔiku?-ŋu bad.  
ɔuŋ-miɔiku bereaved mother  
(*cf.* juŋuŋ, etc.). ɔuy-miɔiku?-ŋu  
unhappy, sad. miɔiku-bur? bad,  
ignorant. miɔiki- *Vintr*  
(inflected like *Inch* -ɔi-) to be  
bad. *Cf.* wakin.
- miɔimiɔi *N* rib.
- mi:ku?, miku? *N* dark red ochre,  
used as paint. *Syn* gamuŋuŋu.  
Called bu!bar in Nunggubuyu.
- mi:l *N* 1. eye.  
2. tunnel at entrance to bee hive.  
3. nut of female cycad palm  
(ŋaɔu). As compound initial,  
*cf.* second element (-ɔiɔi-yu-,  
-ŋim?-bu-, -ŋa!bu?, -ŋilikŋilik-u-,  
-ŋiru?ŋiru, waŋ?-ɔu-, etc.). *Syn*  
milkir, maŋuči. The common term  
is mi:l.
- milak *N* base of spear shaft (away  
from spearhead). milak-mapa-  
*V3tr* to hook up (spear, onto  
woomera).
- milbuɔjuŋ *N* wild cashew  
(Queensland tar tree),  
*Semecarpus australiensis*.  
*Syn* gaŋawu.
- milčir? *N* stick with a 'hook'  
made by a broken-off branch.
- milik-u- *V5intr* (fire or light)  
to be blazing, to give off  
light.
- miliŋ *N* 1. hook. sharp  
projection.  
2. fin. *Cf.* ga!iga!i?.
- milipa? *N* shrub sp., probably  
*Opilia amentacea* and/or  
*Cansjera leptostachya*, both in  
family *Opiliaceae*.
- mil-jiw? *N* See -jiw?.
- milkari *N* tears (in eyes).  
yuɔ-ɔu-n + ŋay milkari + ya  
Tears are running (down his  
face).
- milkir *N* eye. *Syn* mi:l,  
maŋuči.
- milk milk *N* mosquito. *Syn*  
bu:ruč. *Cf.* gaŋamu.
- milmara *N* bestowed (promised)  
wife, wife's mother, husband,  
or daughter's husband. *Cf.*  
ɔa:wu?.
- miŋ?-gu- *V5intr* (lightning) to  
flash.
- milpuŋ? *N* firefly. *Syn*  
jiŋ?miŋ.
- mi:li *N* a hibiscus-like tree,  
*Thespesia populnea*. *Cf.* ya:!,  
malwan. Terms for this sp. and  
*Hibiscus tiliaceus*, both used  
for spear shafts, are often  
interchanged.
- mi:lič *N* white, light-coloured.  
*Cf.* baŋič.
- miłipi? *N* shoulder blade. *Syn*  
jarwa!k.
- miŋ-gu-, miŋ?-gu- *V5intr* to  
look back (over one's shoulder).



- miļu?miļ-u- *V5intr* (sun, rainbow)  
to be shining brightly.
- mimbu- *V6Btr* to conceal, to hide.  
mimbu-wala + ganu-kala + ŋay  
He hid it from him.
- mim?bu *N* scar, welt; man's chest  
scar. *Syn* burkun.
- minbu- *V6Btr* or min-bu- *Vtr* (with  
bu) to trick, to deceive; to  
cheat.
- minḡaraṇ *N* half-grown agile  
wallaby (baranḡal).
- minga? *N* a vine whose leaves are  
used as armbands, *Flagellaria*  
*indica*. *Syn* ja|i. *Cf.* ṇaṇbak,  
ḡarwir.
- minji? *N* minnow (any very small  
freshwater fish).
- minjuḡk-u- *V5intr* to be suspicious  
of (Dative). Perhaps min-juḡk-u-.
- minmin?, minmin?minmin? *N* parrot  
*sp.*, perhaps northern rosella.
- minḡalaṇ *N* an aquatic snake, perhaps  
the freshwater snake. *Cf.*  
wurupul.
- minḡiri *N* injured, wounded.  
minḡiri-yuḡ-ḡu- to run along  
wounded.
- minḡir?-yu- *V5tr* to carry under  
one's arm (in a dillybag whose  
strap is strung over the shoulder).
- minḡuṇ? *N* ground snail, probably  
*Xanthostemon sp.*
- min?-ḡu- *V5intr* to be jealous of  
or resentful toward (Dative).
- mingu- *V6Bintr* to go hunting  
(terrestrial game animals).
- miniḡa *N* 1. a tree with huge  
thorns, good for shade, found in  
dense vegetation along river  
banks or near mangroves,  
*Cathormion umbellatum*. *Syn* jaṛa.  
2. dense scrub or jungle.  
*Cf.* ṛi:ḡa, ṇalaṛa.
- miṇiyar? *N* ironwood, *Erythroleum*  
*chlorostachyum*. *Syn* bu:ḡ,  
maypiṇ?, jirpaṛa.
- miṇṇal *N* a small herb,  
*Euphorbia sp.*
- miṇḡikar *N* 1. eyebrow.  
2. eggs of lice (juku).
- miṇḡinalaṇal *N* eyebrow.
- miṇḡji *N* painted design.  
*Cf.* ṛark.
- miriḡi *N* barramundi, *Lates*  
*calcarifer*. *Syn* balin.
- mirṇ *N* bank of river or  
billabong.
- mirwa? *N* frilled lizard.  
*Syn* jaṇḡur.
- miṛ- See miṛ-ḡi- (below).
- miṛ? *N* cave.
- miṛaṇ *N* tail.
- miriḡi *N* a biting reddish ant  
living in the ground. *Syn*  
wurkaḡi.
- miṛiw *Sff* without, lacking.
- mit-ḡu- *V5tr* to cut in half.  
*Rdp* mit-mit-ḡu-. *Cf.*  
!ar?!ar-yu-.
- miṭiwiri? *N* brush-tailed possum.  
*Cf.* marṇu?, ḡakḡak, ḡa:mbuy?,  
ṛu:bu.
- miṭuruṇu *N* a small fork-tailed  
catfish, found primarily in  
saltwater.
- miyak- *Prf* taste. miyak-  
miyak-miḡiku?-ṇu bad-tasting.  
miyak-ṇamakuli good-tasting.  
*Cf.* maṇ-.
- miyalk *N* girl, woman.
- mu:- *V6B* to lose.
- mu:ḡ *N* rainbow. *Syn* maḡakuy.
- muḡu *N* coolibah, *Eucalyptus*  
*microtheca*. *Cf.* waḡan?.

- mu:di- *N* father's father, father's father's sister.
- mu:du? *N* bait.
- muđuđu *N* blowfly
- muka *Part* indeed!; definitely.
- mukmuk *N* boobook owl; barking (winking) owl. *Syn* garpaw?, qutburk.
- muk-u- *V5intr* to be dark or dim; to be silent, to cease (making noises). *ga:-muk-u-* to be silent. *buđuđu-muk-u-* to be deaf.
- mu:kul *N* father's sister, 'auntie'; (sometimes) mother-in-law.
- mu:kuy *N* 1. ghost, 'devil'.  
2. mantis; stick insect (considered to be associated with 'devils'). *Inch* mu:kuy-ti to die. *Cf.* guyupa-, wuray.
- mu:l *N* dark-coloured, black.  
*Inch* mu:l-ti- to become black.  
*Fact* mu:l-ta- to blacken.  
*Cf.* mul?mul.
- mula *N* pelican. *Syn* galaga!k.
- mulalu *N* a sedge with edible root portions, probably a form of *Eleocharis dulcis*. *Syn* mulkmulk. *Cf.* ra:kay.
- mulkmulk *N* See mulalu.
- mulkuđu *N* stranger.
- mulmu *N* grass (general term).
- mul?mul *N* black; black paint (now made from substances in flashlight batteries). *Inch* mul?mul-ti- to be dirty or rusty. *Cf.* mu:l.
- mulubu *N* a tree *sp.* (rare word).
- mulupiđu? *N* smelly freshwater tortoise *sp.*
- mu:l? *N* black whip snake.
- mulkur *N* head.
- mulunda *N* martin (bird).
- mu:mu- *N* father's mother.
- munaŋa *N* White (person).  
*Syn* balanda.
- munbap *Vintr* (root form) to fall down.
- munbi *N* a rainforest climbing vine with edible reddish fruits, *Malaisia scandens*.
- mundu *N* lower back.
- mundukul *N* water python, *Liasis fuscus*. *Syn* galča, buruđji, gu!unbu!alak.
- mungur *N* 1. cooliman (paperbark container).  
2. a paperbark tree, perhaps *Melaleuca nervosa*, whose bark is made into coolimans. *Syn* dila.
- mungu-yu- *V5tr* to pursue, to track down.
- munmun? *N* a grass whose soft white roots are dipped into honey and chewed, *Alloteropsis semialata*.
- muŋ, mu:ŋ *N* shoulder.
- mu:ŋa? *N* small herb with flat potato as root, *Microstemma sp.*
- muđu *N* sinew. *Cf.* gurkan, malkbič.
- muŋuk, mu:ŋuk *N* saltwater.  
*Cf.* maŋa!a?
- muŋa *N* night (as unit of time).  
Occurs in expressions like muŋa !urkun?-miri a few nights (perhaps compound muŋa-!urkun?-miri). Related to muŋaku 'night' in more northerly languages, such as Duwal.  
*Cf.* maka!.
- muŋgu- *V6Btr* to keep (something) close (so that it will not be lost or stolen).
- muŋjuč *N* green plum tree, *Buchanania obovata*, especially its fruit. The term birgi? applies to the entire tree.

muñur *N* in fine bits, powderlike, soft in texture. *Cf.* buñu?

muñ-gu- *Vstr* to drink. *Rdp* muñgu?-muñ-gu-.

muñ-mara- *Vtr* (with ma:ra-) to take over (a place).

muñu *N* seaweed. *Cf.* mamuñu!u, yatbuwa.

muñuy? *Adv* constantly, frequently, always.

mupan? *N* tree used for firesticks, *Clerodendrum floribundum* or a form thereof. Said to have leaves somewhat bigger than those of buñuga?. *Cf.* also walpurungu?-ñiniñ. These terms are only inconsistently distinguished.

murañapu? *N* billabong crayfish. Distinct from mañakutu?.

murka? *N* spangled perch, 'bream'. *Syn* ri:mu?, ñawunburk.

murkay *Adv* vigorously, hard. murkay + ñay yuñ-ñu-n He runs hard. murkay + ña + ñay wut-ñu-na He hit him hard.

murña?, murñi? *N* a small shrub with edible berries, *Grewia retusifolia*. The term murñi? refers primarily to the berries.

murñiñ *N* shovel spear. *Syn* gajit. *Cf.* birkilin.

murpun? *N* a tree, *Terminalia carpentariae*, especially its edible fruits. *Cf.* balmañ?, mapuñumun?.

murpungu *N* euro (rock kangaroo), *Macropus robustus*. Young: jumu!u!u?. Adult male: ñulaku. Female: bamjirbi?, bayir.

mur-u- *Vsintr* 1. to growl.

2. (fire) to burn vigorously. *Caus* mur-(u-n-)mañ- to make a campfire.

muruku? *N* woomera (in myth). *Cf.* bañdak.

mururunguñ? *N* swamphen.

muñuñulu? *N* a prostrate vine with edible yam, probably *Ipomoea* sp. *Syn* ña:w?. *Cf.* ñawalala?.

mutbu- *Vstr* to gather up, to pack up (clothing, etc.).

muñiñi? *N* thick scrub infested by 'devils' (mu:kuy).

muñali? *N* grass whistling-duck. *Syn* jilili.

muñi? *N* fig tree with sandpaper-like leaves, *Ficus opposita*.

mu:ñum *N* a kind of lightweight stone used in making stone ovens (limestone?).

mu:ñum? *N* small freshwater fish sp. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu mu:ñu.

muwañak *N* clothing, loose possessions.

mu:y? *N* last bit (of food, etc.).

muyunu *N* plant, perhaps *Tephrosia* sp.

muyuru? *N* nut of pandanus (gunga). *Syn* mamač.

# N

ñaku? *N* dugout canoe.

ñan?-ñi- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ñi-) to be doing what? ñan?-ñi-ri + ñi: What are you doing?

ña:ñ *N* lame, crippled. Also ña:ñ-ñu.

ñañar? *N* grass found near water, used for necklaces, perhaps *Panicum* sp. *Cf.* giringirin?.

ñañ-gu- *Vsintr* to bathe, to go into the water. *Cf.* yilip-u-.

ñañmiri *N* tern (sea bird).

napunga *N/Adv* (in the) middle.  
 naragal *N* large freshwater  
 fork-tailed catfish,  
*Hexanematchthys* sp. *Cf.* warma.  
 narŋ?-gu- *V5intr* to snore.  
 natnat-qu- *V5intr* to be boiling.  
 nigaŋ *N* billabong. Multiple *Rdp*  
 ŋiga?-ŋigaŋ.  
 nika *N* which? where? nika + ŋay  
 Where is he? ŋika-wala to where?  
 Variant yika.  
 nilaŋila *N* cicada.  
 nimbal *N/Adv* nimbal + ŋay ŋu:ra-Ø  
 It lies trapped (e.g. animal in  
 burrow). *Syn* ŋanga.  
 niŋ?-qu- *V5intr* to hide in fear,  
 take refuge (e.g. tortoise in  
 shell, animal in burrow).  
 niŋi-ŋara- *Vintr* (with ŋa:ra-)  
 to lean, to recline (against  
 something).  
 niŋi?-yu- *V5tr* to fasten (canoe,  
 etc.) by tying it up.  
 nipiri *N* type of hook spear with  
 barbs on both sides of shaft.  
*Cf.* gunjaraŋ.  
 ni:r *N* mud-nest wasp, *Eumenes* sp.  
*Cf.* mabubu.  
 niriŋiri? *N* a flying insect said  
 to buzz when green plums (birgi?)  
 are ripe. *Syn* ŋirŋir?  
 nir-u- *V5intr* (leaves) to rustle  
 in the breeze.  
 niŋ-u- *V5intr* (insect) to buzz.  
 niŋuŋ *N* freshwater mangrove,  
*Barringtonia acutangula*.  
 nubul?-yu- *V5intr* (grass) to shake  
 (e.g. signalling presence of  
 animal).  
 nu:ka? *N* stone; (stone) hill.  
 nu:li? *N/Adv* (on) walkabout.  
 nu:li? + nu + ra wa:ni-Ø I am

going walkabout now.  
 nuŋ, nu:ŋ *N* large water lily  
 fruit. *Syn* ŋatam.  
 nuŋgaŋaŋur *N* tree with edible  
 white fruits, *Mallotus*  
*nesophilus*.  
 nuŋ?-gu- *V5intr* to assent,  
 to say yes.  
 nuŋgululuk *N* a small bird seen  
 around billabongs.  
 nuŋgur *N* elbow.  
 nu:rč *N* pond algae. *Syn* ŋirčal.  
 nuruŋur *N* white ibis.  
  
 N  
 ŋa: *N* what? ŋa:-ŋaŋ? when?  
 ŋa:-ku what for? ŋa:-muŋ  
 how much?  
 ŋa:- *V6Btr* to see; to find; to  
 bear (find) a child. *Rdp*  
 ŋawa?-ŋa-wala from *Past*  
 ŋa:-wala, etc.  
 ŋa?-ŋi- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ŋi-)  
 to be doing what? *Syn* ŋan?-ŋi-.  
 ŋakana, ŋakanaŋ *Part* like,  
 similar to. ŋakanaŋ ŋanapu  
 like us. Also ŋakanaŋ ŋanapu-  
 ?waŋji?  
 ŋanapa- *V4tr* to build (a fire).  
 ŋara- *V2intr* (fire) to burn.  
 ŋawu(y), ŋa:wu(y) *N* what's-it?  
*Accusative* ŋa(:)wu-ŋa. *Inch*  
 ŋawu-ŋi- to do what's-it?  
 ŋayka, ŋa:yka *N* what's-it (place)?  
 ŋi:na- *V2intr* to sit. baŋa-ŋina-  
 to sit together.  
 ŋirpa- *V4tr* to erect, to stand  
 (something) up, to plant (in the  
 ground). *Refl/Recip* ŋirpa-ŋ-mi-  
 mala-ŋirpa-ŋ-mi- to be erected  
 in a group.

nuka- *V4tr* to copulate with  
(Accusative).  
numa- *V4tr* to smell. *Syn*  
nawut-du-, niw-u-, nuyquy-u-.

## N

ñalk *N* rain. ñalk-ḡaḡ?-buy  
(in) the rainy season.  
ñala *N* wave, ripple.  
ñamaḡ *N* ripe (used of vegetable  
food, ḡaḡa).  
ñambaḡ *N* mouth almighty fish.  
*Cogn* Nunggubuyu ñambaḡ.  
ñagaḡ?-yu- *V5intr* to be raw.  
*Cf.* ḡiku.  
ñagaḡ?-gu- *V5intr* to take a meal,  
to have a feed.  
ñaray?-yu- *V5intr* to be fatty or  
greasy.  
ña-yu- *V5intr* (dog) to whine, to  
yelp. *Rdp* ña-ña-ña-yu-.  
ñi:kur? *N* leech. *Syn* jimi?  
(ñi:kur? is an uncommon word).  
ñimbiḡñimbiḡ *N* weak.  
ḡa:-ñimbiḡñimbiḡ mumbler,  
stammerer (ḡa: mouth).  
ñimbiḡ?-yu- *V5intr* to be weak.  
ñim?-bu- *V5intr* (fire) to go out;  
(sun) to set. mil-ñim?-bu-  
to close one's eyes tightly;  
to be fast asleep.  
ñi:mbu? *N* witchetty grub,  
especially pink ones in stringy-  
bark (probably cossid larvae).  
*Cf.* ḡarḡuḡ?, ḡa:muḡḡ?.  
ñin? *N* double-bar finch.  
ñinggar-bu- *V6intr* to swim  
underwater.  
ñirgul *N* scrubland, savannah.  
ñiriñiri? *N* hakea tree, *Hakea*

*arborescens*. (N. Scarlett  
reports that this is also  
applied to *Grevillea*  
*heliosperma*.)

ñirkñirk *N* Variant of ḡirkḡirk  
(sulphur-crested cockatoo).

ñirk-u- *V5intr* to be persistent;  
to hold a persistent grudge  
against (Dative). ñirk-u-n +  
ḡan-ḡu + ḡali They keep a  
grudge against him; They will  
not forgive him.

ñirñir? *N* a flying insect.  
See ḡiriḡiri?.

ñiwuḡ?-gu- *V5* Attested only in  
*Caus* ñiwuḡ?-maḡa- to bend.

ñuḡuñuḡu? *N* certain small wasps  
such as the sand wasp,  
*Bembix sp.*

## N

ḡa:- *Vtr* (*irreg*) to hear.  
*Cf.* ḡuyaḡa-.

ḡaḡal *N* spring (of water).

ḡaḡiwangu *N* old woman.  
*Cf.* jawulpa.

ḡadan *N* bark of stringybark tree  
(ḡaḡayka?); humpy made from  
stringybark.

ḡaduḡu *N* dugong rope.  
*Cf.* ḡaram.

ḡa:ḡ-ḡi- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ḡi-)  
to be doing what? Variant of  
wa:ḡ-ḡi-.

ḡa:ḡ-ḡi- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ḡi-)  
to do for a long time.  
ḡa:ḡ-ḡi-ri + ḡay ḡi:n-i He will  
sit for a long time.  
ḡa:ḡ-ḡi-ña + ḡay ḡi:na-ḡa  
He sat for a long time.

ḡa:ḡu? *Part* (sense unclear).

ḡa:ka- *V3tr* to cover up.

ḡakbanḡa *N* a palm, probably

- Ptychosperma elegans*. Cf. rañbulu.
- nak-u- *V5intr* (dog) to bark.
- na:lal *N* frog, especially small ground frogs found near water. Cf. bakunbakun, gar?man, wu:kaɾa.
- nalalak *N* little corella (parrot). *Syn* jiri?
- nalaliki *N* green turtle. *Syn* jununguyaŋu.
- nalanga? *N* river red gum, 'river whitebark', *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* (e.g. at Ngukurr). (N. Scarlett; also *E. alba*/ *E. bigalerita* at Doindji.)
- nalaɾa *N* scrubland, especially around springs. Cf. ɾi:ča, miŋiča.
- nalkabar? *N* honey bee (*Trigona* sp.), said to be smaller than jaɖak, with nest in trees.
- nalt-du- *V5intr* to be new moon. nalt-du-na + ŋay It was new moon; The new moon appeared.
- nalɬir *N* liver. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu andiri 'heart'.
- nal?-yu- *V5intr* to climb; to go up. nal?-yu-na + ŋay darpa-li? He went up the tree. *Caus* nal?-(yu-n-)maɾa- to put up; to apply paint to (body). *RefL/Recip* nal?-(yu-n-)mi- to arise. daramu-nal?-mi- to raise one's legs.
- na:l *N* saliva.
- naɭamara *N* nail-tailed wallaby, *Onychogalea fraenata*. Cf. jaŋɖil.
- naɭan *N* shell (of nut, tortoise, etc.).
- naɭanbirča *N* banded plover (bird). *Syn* birkbirk.
- naɭawili *N* shellfish.
- naɭbu? *N* Attested in mil-naɭbu?, apparently a variant of mil-naɭwa? (see -naɭwa?).
- na:lik *N* wild berry with thorns, probably *Solanum* sp.
- naɭwa? *N* mil-naɭwa? immoral, unstable. Used of young people who move around a great deal, and usually implies sexual promiscuity. Cf. -naɭbu?.
- namakuli, namakili *N* good. *Rdp* nama?-namakuli. ŋuy-namakuli capable; having a good heart. Related to nama-ɬi-.
- nama-ɬi- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ɬi-) to be(come) good; to be(come) happy, healthy, etc. mar-nama-ɬi- to be(come) happy. *Fact* nama-ɬa to make good or happy; to make properly. jal-nama-ɬa- to make good. Cf. ga:nama-ɬa-.
- nambi *N* stone spear. *Syn* gujara?, warɬambal, wariman.
- nambiŋ?nambiŋ *N* a large wild potato sp.
- na:m?-bu- *V5intr* (fish) to be stunned (by chemical action of branches of certain trees).
- namini *N* 1. milk.  
2. female breast, teat.  
3. 'milk snake', probably the snake-lizard *Lialis burtonii*.
- nanapara? *N* buffalo. *Syn* ɖi:tun, gatapaŋa.
- naɖa *N* wind.
- nanjuɾ *N* a freshwater fish. Said by some informants to be a synonym of baypinga 'Saratoga fish' (*Scleropages jardini*).
- naɖa *N* honey, honeycomb.
- naɖa? *N* fruit of marble tree (baɖar?).
- naɖaŋinaɖaŋi? *N* a small, scrubby shrub sp.

ḡaḡar *N* saltwater crocodile.

*Cf.* gaḡukaḡu, ḡa:w?.

ḡa:ḡḡi- *N* mother.

ḡaḡi *N* west. ḡaḡi-li? to the west.

*Cf.* warara.

-ḡaḡaḡ? *N* small. Variant of Diminutive -ḡaḡaḡ?.

ḡaḡa?ḡaḡa *N* big (plural).

Possibly related to -ḡaḡaḡ? despite semantic inversion; probably formally a reduplication ḡaḡa?-ḡaḡa.

ḡaḡbak *N* armband. *Syn* jaḡi, ḡaḡwir.

ḡaḡa *N/Adv* hiding (in burrow, etc.). ḡaḡa + ḡaḡ ḡu:ra-Ø  
It (goanna) is hiding (from dogs) in its burrow.

ḡapa *N* 1. backbone, spine.

2. top (e.g. of house, mountain).

ḡarambali? *N* scorpion. *Syn* maḡa.  
*Cf.* jaḡam.

ḡaraw?-wu- *V5intr* (tree) to fall, (stick) to become broken.  
*Caus* ḡaraw?-(wu-n-)maḡa- to break (e.g. stick).

ḡarč-u- *V5tr* to swear at, to reproach angrily. *Recip*  
ḡarč-u-n-mi- to quarrel, to have a row.

ḡarič *N* name of a subsection (masc).  
*Fem* ḡaričan?.

ḡaričan? *N* name of a subsection (fem). Masc ḡarič.

ḡarkan *N* charcoal. *Syn* maḡalk.

ḡarmuḡa? *N* a swamp plant with edible tubers, *Triglochin procera*. *Syn* bindar?, mapuḡkuma?.

ḡarḡar-u- *V5intr* to have a sore or injury.

ḡaḡaka *N* bone.

ḡaramiḡ *N* small tree *sp.*  
(*N.* Scarlett: *Terminalia sp.*).

ḡarkula *N* floodwaters, flooded area. *Cf.* jurjur, waḡačara.

ḡarḡil? *N* a tree with large leaves and white bark common in spring country, probably a eucalypt.

ḡatban? *N* archerfish ('riflefish').  
*Syn* jitbiḡi, bilḡu?, waḡara?.

ḡa:ḡi? *N* meat ant. *Cf.* ḡirbuku, jaḡu?.

ḡaḡukura? *N* a large swamp plant.

ḡaḡa *N* vegetable food.

ḡaḡarḡ *N* a lizard *sp.* found in trees or houses.

ḡaḡi- *N* mother's father.

ḡa:ḡi- *Vlintr* to cry, to weep.  
*Recip* ḡa:ḡi-na-mi- to cry together.

ḡa:ḡili *Adv* in front; before, earlier. ḡa:ḡili + ḡi:  
You are in front; You are in the lead.

ḡaḡu *N* cycad palm, burrawong, *Cycas media* (or a very closely related *sp.*). *Cf.* baḡpaḡ?.

ḡa:w? *N* freshwater crocodile.  
*Cf.* gaḡukaḡu, ḡaḡar.

ḡawkḡawk *N* stem of a water lily.

ḡawut-ḡu- *V5tr* to smell. *Syn* ḡiw-ḡ-, ḡuma-. *Cf.* ḡuyḡuy-u-.

ḡayaḡuḡa? *N* expanse of water, large river, large billabong, open sea.

-ḡilikḡilik-u- *V5intr*  
mil-ḡilikḡilik-u- to blink; to remain awake at night, to keep an eye open (rather than sleeping). *Cf.* -ḡiru?ḡir-u-.

ḡiliḡ *N* hook on woomera.

ḡiriḡirika? *N* brightly-coloured (especially red, sometimes orange and yellow). *Cf.* ḡir-yu-.



ñirkñirk *N* sulphur-crested  
cockatoo. Variant ñirkñirk.  
*Syn* bađikan, ma:ɾpuʔ.

-ñiruʔñir-u- *V5intr* mil-ñiruʔñir-u-  
to look around warily, to keep a  
vigil at night. *Cf.*  
-ñi!ikñi!ik-u-.

ñir-yu- *V5intr* to be brightly  
coloured. *Rdp* ñiri-ñir-yu-.  
*Cf.* ñiriñirikaʔ.

ñirʔ-yu- *V5intr* to breathe.

ñiw-u- *V5tr* to smell. *Syn*  
ñawut-ɖu-, ñuma-. *Cf.*  
ñuyñuy-u-.

ñulbič, ñulwič *N* cold weather.  
ñulbič-ɖaŋʔ in the cold weather.  
*Inch* ñulbič-ɖi- to be(come) cold  
weather; (person or animal) to  
feel cold. *Cf.* ɖuluɖurʔ.

ñulč-u- *V5intr* to be properly  
clothed or adorned; to wear  
clothing well. *Cf.* waɾʔwaɾ-u-.

ñulurʔ-yu- *V5intr* to groan, to  
moan; to grunt.

ñupa- *V3tr* to chase, to follow  
after; to come right up next to.  
*Recip* ñupa-n-mi- to engage in a  
chase; to be(come) close together.  
!uku-ñupa- to follow the foot-  
prints of.  
ɖuna!-ñupa- to imitate (voice).

ñu:ra- *V2intr* to lie down; to  
sleep; to stay (at a place, for  
a period). ɖuwa!-ñura- (bridge)  
to lie across (e.g. a river).

ñurčiʔ-yu- *V5intr* to sneeze.

ñurgič, ñurwič *N* stopping place in  
the shade.

ñurka- *V6Atr* to throw. *Cf.*  
wurɖaʔ-yu-.

ñurkiñʔ-ju- *V5intr* to paddle.

ñurk-u- *V5intr* (tree) to fall.

ñurʔñur-yu-, ñurʔñurʔ-yu- *V5intr*  
to be very sick, to be on the  
brink of dying.

ñuru *N* nose; point, tip.  
*Cf.* yarara-yu-. *Inch* ñuru-ɣi-  
(tide) to rise; (bees) to begin  
constructing a new hive.

ñurulʔ *N* navel.

ñuruɖinʔ *N* wild banana,  
*Leichhardtia australis*.

ñurwič *N* Variant of ñurgič.

ñurʔ-yu- *V5intr* to dig a hole.

ñutaŋ *N* honey bee (*Trigona spp.*).  
covers all *spp.* *Cf.* yarpañ,  
jaɖak, etc.

ñutu *Adv* far away; deeply  
inside, in deep water.  
ñutu-liʔ + ɖay wa:ni-na  
He went (to) far away.

ñut-ɖu- *V5intr* 1. to cease; to  
become silent.

2. to be away, to be out of  
town (on a visit, hunting trip,  
etc.). ɖa:-ñut-ɖu- to close  
one's mouth. *Cf.* ɖap-u-  
(ɖa:-ɖap-u-).

ñuɖa- *V3intr* to grow up.  
ñuɖa-na + ra ɖanu-kala I grew  
up with (i.e. around) him.

ñu:y *N* heart. In compounds may  
refer to mental state, *cf.*  
miɖikuʔ-ñu.

ñuyñuy-u- *V5intr* (dog) to sniff  
around. *Cf.* ñuma-, etc.

## R

račgubiɾa *N* a large, ground-  
dwelling lizard with a long  
tail.

ra:č-u- *V5tr* to scrape.  
*Syn* wir-yu-.

ɾakalaʔ *N* a paperbark tree with  
unusually large, thick leaves,  
*Melaleuca viridiflora*. (In  
Nunggubuyu two forms are  
distinguished, ɾagala and

- li:wa, but Ritharngu rakala?  
covers both.)
- rak:kay *N* a sedge with edible root portions, probably a form of *Eleocharis dulcis*. Said, however, to be distinct from mulalu.
- rakbu- *V6Btr* or rak-bu- *Vtr* (with bu-) to look over (potential camping places); to count (objects).
- rakuñ-di- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ti-) to die. An uncommon word. *Syn* guyupa-, mu:kuy-ti-.
- ralwa?ralwa *N* capable. *ralwa?ralwa* + *ñay* *jan?gu-n-rawu* *gajit-gu* + *ya* He is capable of making (infinitive) shovel spears.
- ralwur-yu- *V5intr* to be lazy; to be too weary (to do something).
- ramiñji, yamiñji *N* 1. lightning.  
2. gecko lizard, which makes the lightning. *Syn* maykarañ?, bandayama?
- rañbulu, yañbulu *N* a palm. Apparently a synonym of *ñakbanña*.
- raña? *N* tree, stick, wood. *Syn* ñarpa. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu ñaṇag.
- rañarač *N* snake (general term). *Syn* ba:pi. *Cogn* Ngandi ra-ñarač.
- raṇgu *N* eel. May also cover sea-snakes.
- raṇi *N* beach. *Cf.* maṇaṇa?
- arakal? *N* sharpened stick, wooden spear.
- rark *N* painting, painted design. *Cf.* miñ?ji.
- rarkbu- *V6Btr* or rark-bu- *Vtr* (with bu-) to draw, to write; to paint (a design). *Cf.* *jan?gu-*, rark.
- rar-u- *V5tr* to spill (liquid or nonliquid).
- raṭar *N* dugong harpoon, usually made from stringybark. *Cf.* gaṭayka?
- ra:w? *N* body hair, fur. *Cf.* baṭa-.
- ra:wak *N* dry. *Inch* ra:wak-di- to get wet.
- rawaraṇ *N* east.
- rawir-yu- *V5intr* to be strong, solid, or firm.
- raw-u- *V5intr* (waves) to get high.
- ri:ča *N* thick scrub or jungle; thick low vegetation. *Cogn* probably Nunggubuyu ri:ja, a scrambling vine.
- ričan?-du- *V5tr* to tease.
- ričariṭ *N* a tree *sp.* with reddish fruits, common in spring country.
- riḍiḍi *N* a flying insect *sp.*
- rimbarña *N* Rembarrnga (language and tribe).
- ri:mu? *N* spangled perch. *Syn* murka?, ḍawuṇburk.
- riñ?jaṇu *N* edible root, *Eriosema chinense* (N. Scarlett). *Syn* biḍijir?
- ripuru- *N* ripuru-miri yesterday, the preceding day; afternoon. *ripu-ripuru-miri?* (note glottal stop) yesterday; previously. *ripuru-puy* recently.
- ri:raṇ *N* over-mature water lily root (buṇpa?). Distinct from ḍi:raṇ.
- rirbal? *N* honey. *Cf.* ṇaṇa.
- rirgal-u- *V5intr* to make noises (e.g. by unintentionally crunching twigs as one walks in the bush).
- riripiriripi *N* Variant of *rirpirirpi*.
- ri:rk *N* sickness. *ri:rk* + *ñay*

- yuṭ-gu-n ḡan-ḡu He is sick  
 ('Sickness runs for him').  
 ḡumuru-?may? ḡan-ḡu ṛi:rk + ja  
 His sickness is not great.  
 Cf. ṛi:rk-u-.
- ṛi:rk-u- *V5intr* to be very sick.  
 Cf. ṛi:rk.
- ṛirpiṛirpi, ṛiripiriripi *N*  
 a ferocious black dingo.
- ṛiṭarḡu *N* Ritharḡu.
- ṛu:bu *N* brush-tailed possum.  
 A rare word. *Syn* miṭiwiri?.
- ṛul-ḡura- *V2intr* (with ḡu:ra-)  
 (group) to lie down.
- ṛulṭa- *V6Atr* to put down.
- ṛu:m *N* 'law' (tribal traditions  
 and customs).
- ṛunu *N* island. Multiple *Rdp*  
 ṛunu?-ṛunu.
- ṛunḡay *N* wife's father. (An  
 explicitly affinal term; the  
 wife's father is usually also  
 referred to by the broader term  
 gaykay.) *Cogn* Ngandi ṛonḡoy.
- ṛuṭa-yi- *Vintr* (inflected like  
 ṛiṇḡ -ṭi-) (fish) to hang  
 motionless in water.
- ṛuwal?-yu- *V5intr* to clear off  
 ground (while preparing a  
 camping ground).
- ṛuwam?-bu- *V5intr* to bake (in  
 ashes). Cf. waṭatbu-,  
 ṭirma?-yu-.
- ṛuwanga? *N* lightweight.
- waṭuṇḡu *N* a large goanna,  
*Varanus gouldii*. *Syn* banguṇa,  
 wukuṭ. Cf. janda.
- waḡa?ḡu *N* a small swamp plant  
 with edible root, probably the  
 grass potato, *Curculigo*  
*ensifolia*.
- waḡawaḡa *N* 1. spear.  
 2. a tree whose wood is made  
 into spear shafts, *Macaranga*  
*tanarius*.
- waḡay?-yu- *V5tr* to drag, to pull  
 along.
- wa?-ḡi-, wa:-ḡi- *Vintr* (with  
*Inḡ -ṭi-*) to do what?  
 wa?-ḡi-ri + ṇi: What are you  
 doing?
- wa:gilak *N* name of a Ritharḡu-  
 speaking maṭa.
- wakala- *V6Aintr* to crawl.  
 Cf. ḡirir?-yu-.
- wakal?-yu- *V5intr* to play, to  
 frolic, to dance.
- wakin *N* bad, no good. Also  
 wakin-ḡu. ṭami-wakin awkward  
 (in walking).
- waku- *N* sister's child.  
*Syn* gapiri-.
- wakuy *N* armpit.
- wakwak *N* water lily found in  
 shallow water, *Nymphaea*  
 ?violacea.
- walama-la *Adv* uphill, upriver.
- walari *N* twister, whirlwind.
- walulu, wa:lulu *N* cyclone.
- walkuli *N* koel (bird).  
*Syn* ḡu:wak, ḡu:waw?.
- walma?-yu- *V5intr* to go up, to  
 get up, to rise.  
 walma?-yu-na + ra ḡapa-li?  
 I went up to the top.  
 gapu-walma?-yu-na + ḡay The  
 water (i.e. tide) rises.

## W

- wa:-? *Adv* (to) where? wa:-? + ḡara  
 wa:n-i + ya Where will I go?
- waṭbaṛiṇ?-ju- *V5intr* to be  
 reserved or set aside for  
 (Dative). waṭbaṛiṇ? ḡara-ku  
 It is reserved for me.

walŋa *N* alive. *Inch* walŋa-ŋi-  
to be alive or healthy.

walpurungu? *N* plains turkey,  
bustard.  
walpurungu?-ŋiniŋ *N* a tree,  
*Clerodendrum cunninghamii*.  
Easily confused with *Clerodendrum*  
*floribundum* (buḍuga).

walaman? *N* everyone, all.  
*Cf.* warpam?.

walan? *N* hill coolibah,  
*Eucalyptus tectifica*.

walarič *N* a coastal shrub,  
probably *Guettarda speciosa*.

walatbu- *V6Btr* or walat-bu- *Vtr*  
(with bu-) to bake (damper)  
in sand. *Cf.* ruwam?-bu-.

walir *N* sun. walir-ŋa in the hot  
season (around early December).  
walir-puy daytime.

walkara *N* a large herring or  
anchovy found in fresh and salt  
water.

walmañ *N* black duck.

waluŋu *N* a swamp plant with  
edible roots, similar to  
waḍa?ŋu and ḡalpiñ.

wa:mučan? *N* name of a subsection  
(fem). Masc wa:mut.

wa:mut *N* name of a subsection  
(masc) Fem wa:mučan?.

wanga *Part* or else! gurupu-lu +  
ra-ŋa + ŋi:, wanga ŋu-na + ra  
bu-ŋu Give it to me, or else I  
will hit you.

wan?gabu, wan?gawu *N* water goanna.  
*Syn* jarka?.

wa:ni- 1. *V1intr* to go (includes  
'to come').

2. *V1tr* to go to (someone).

waŋa *N* 1. arm.

2. creek; tributary of river.

waŋa?-yu- *V5intr* to signal with  
hand to (Dative). Related to  
waŋa.

waḇdal? *N* root.

waḇduwa? *N* bloodwood,  
*Eucalyptus polycarpa*.  
*Syn* ḡumu!u?. *Cf.* ju:y?.

waŋ?-ḡu- *V5intr* to look around.  
mi:l-waŋ?-ḡu- to remain awake.

waŋgar *N* feather. *Syn* bu!uk.

waŋgura? *N* bandicoot. *Cf.*  
ḡuŋga?.

wañjalpu? *N* a small plant with  
edible yam, found on hills.

waŋa- 1. *V2intr* to speak, to  
talk.

2. *V2tr* to speak to.

*Rdp* waŋa?-waŋa-. *Recip*  
waŋa-ŋa-mi- to have a conver-  
sation. waŋa-ŋa + ña + ra  
baŋa-n-rawu I told him to cook  
it (infinitive). gi:n-waŋa-  
to sing with tapsticks;  
(devil) to talk to himself.  
yiḍaki-waŋa- to play on the  
didjeridu (yiḍaki). *Cf.*  
!akara-.

wa:ŋa *N* camp.

waŋupini *N* cloud.

waŋ?waŋ? *N* crow. Variant of  
wa?wa.

wap-u- *V5intr* to jump, to leap.  
*Rdp* wap-wap-u (also wap-wab-u-)  
to hop along.

wapwab-u- *V5intr* See wap-u-.

wa:r, wa:rk *N* cyclone, storm.

warakan *N* emu. *Syn* wurpaŋ.

warakayaw? *N* clear (sky);  
clean (water). Also  
warakayaw?-ŋu. *Cf.* ganu?-miri.

wa:raŋ *N* dingo.

warauŋ *Adv* out of seclusion  
(Text 37.2).

warauŋ?-yu- *V5tr* to take out-  
side.

warapangi *N* coastal whistling

- tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.  
See jumula? for commentary.
- warara *N* 1. clearing, open space.  
2. west. *Syn* ɲaɲi. warara-li?  
to the west. !iya-warara bald.
- warawk-u- *V5intr* to jump down or  
off.
- waray *Part* indeed; to be sure.
- wara?-yu- *V5intr* to enjoy  
(Dative). wara?-yu-n + ɲay  
ba:pa-mu ɲaɲa-gu Your father  
likes food.
- warč *N* warč-miri silly, acting  
foolishly.
- warč-u- *V5intr* to be silly, to be  
crazy. *Cf.* warč.
- wariman *N* stone spear. *Syn*  
gujara?, ɲambi, warɲambal.
- warja?-yu- *V5intr* to look for  
(Dative). warja?-yu-n + ɲay  
ɲaɲa-gu He is looking for food.
- wa:rk *N* Variant of wa:r.
- wark-u- *V5intr* (dog, etc.) to  
scratch or paw ground.
- warkwark *N* ants (except ma:lak,  
japu?, and others with special  
names).
- warmbaya *Part* anyway,  
nevertheless.
- warñu *N* red flying fox,  
*Pteropus scapulatus*.
- warɲaɲ *N* a plant with small,  
potato-like roots.
- warpam? *N* whole lot, all, everyone.
- warɲambal *N* stone spear.  
*Syn* wariman, gujara?, ɲambi.
- warwar *N* straight.
- war?war *N* lung.
- war?war-u- *V5tr* 1. to remove (an  
object) from a fire, oven, grave,  
etc.
2. to open up (a blanket).
- war-yu- *V5intr* to swim across.
- waɲa *N* who? Ergative waɲa-li.
- waɲačara *N* (running) flood.  
*Syn* jurjur. *Cf.* ɲaɲkula.
- waɲal?-yu- *V5tr* to ask, to  
inquire of (Accusative).
- warbu- *V6Btr* or war-bu- *Vtr*  
(with bu-) to curse (by singing  
a curse song).
- warčwarč *N* a beetle-like cock-  
roach sp., dark with white  
cross-bands ('piss beetle').
- warɲugu-yu- *V5intr* to be sad  
for, to miss (Dative).
- warɲk-u- *V5intr* to work (loanword).
- warɲkwarɲk, warɲɲwarɲɲ *N* crow.  
*Syn* wa?wa, gaɲkarɲu.
- warɲma *N* small light-coloured  
freshwater fork-tailed catfish.  
*Cf.* ɲaragal.
- warɲpur? *N* sugar glider ('flying  
squirrel').
- war?war-u- *V5intr* to wear  
clothing that does not fit.  
*Cf.* ɲuɲč-u-.
- watbaɲ *N* a grevillea with very  
thin leaves, *Grevillea*  
*pteridifolia*. *Cf.* jumula?  
for commentary.
- wa:t-ɲu- *V5tr* to shout to,  
to call out to. *Rdp*  
wa:ɲu?-wat-ɲu-.
- waɲara? *N* archer fish ('rifle-  
fish'). *Syn* bilɲu?, jitbiɲi,  
ɲatban?.
- waɲu *N* dog.
- wa:wa- *N* older brother.
- wa?wa *N* crow. *Syn* warɲkwarɲk,  
gaɲkarɲu.
- waw-u- *V5intr* (bee) to buzz.  
*Rdp* waw?-waw-u-.

- wa:wun-ŋu *N* (proper) owner, one in possession; (with kin term:) actual. wa:wun-ŋu + ŋi: You are in charge (of it); You are keeping (it) all for yourself.
- wa:y? *N* worm or similar creature, found at the edges of billabongs and used for bait.
- waya *N* wire, wire spear (loanword).
- wayala *N* swamp; flat country.
- wa:yin *N* 1. meat.  
2. game animal (e.g. kangaroo, emu). *Cogn* Nunggubuyu wa:yin 'emu'; Day?yi wa:yin 'bird'.
- waykaḍa *N* jungle-fowl. *Syn* baḍakawk.
- way?-yu- *V5tr* to rebuke; to dissuade (by rebuking).
- wi:č *N* gift, giving. (See Text 33.2) wič-miriw greedy, not generous. wič-ḍarpal-ŋu generous, munificent.
- widiḍir?widiḍir *N* wren.
- widiḍiyan? *N* one; once.
- widi?-yu- *V5intr* to become lost. ḍay-widi?-yu- to become lost with; to abscond with.
- wilaṇ?-gu- *V5tr* to take out of a fire. gaw?-wilaṇ?-gu- to beckon to, to summon (Dative) by waving the hand or calling.
- wilikwilik *N* galah (large parrot).
- wilwil-yu- *V5intr* to shake, to tremble.
- wili?wili *N* a fairly large bird said to have a red breast and yellowish back.
- wilmur *N* wire spear. *Syn* jimiṇḍi?, waya.
- wiṇ?gu *N* left. bala-wiṇ?gu left side. *Cf.* jarpuday?, jarpi.
- wiṇgura *N* name applied to people of Groote Eylandt and their language. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu iṇgura.
- wiṇinwiṇin *N* sandfly, gnat. *Syn* manjiri, ḍupḍup.
- wiričwirič *N* varied lorikeet (parrot with red patch on top of head).
- wiriṛwiriṛ *N* parrot sp., perhaps cockatiel (grey parrot).
- wirji? *N* dreaming, totem. *Syn* ḍa:la.
- wirki *Part* a lot. Often used as an untranslatable particle at the end of a sentence.
- wirkul *N* young girl (before puberty).
- wirṇiṇ *N* a kind of devil, said to look like a jabiru (ganji), which often steals children.
- wir?wir-u- *V5intr* (wind) to whistle. *Syn* biru?bir-u-.
- wir-yu- *V5tr* to scrape. *Syn* ṛa:č-u-.
- wir?-yu- *V5intr* (leaf) to fall.
- wirič *N* rainbow fish sp.
- wiriṇ?-ju- *V5tr* to scrape (spear).
- wiriṇu *N* other, different. bala-wiriṇu-ṇuṇu? on ('from') the other side. *Cf.* laṛpa.
- wir?-yu- *V5intr* to whistle.
- wit-ḍu- *V5intr* to get up, to rise. waṇa-wit-ḍu- to have arms (or wings) raised. *Caus* wit-(ḍu-n-)maṛa- to hold (e.g. arms) in outstretched or raised position. *Rdp* wiṭu?-wit-ḍu-.
- wi:ṭi? *N* female agile wallaby (barangal).
- wiyaṭ-ḍu- *V5intr* to feel sorry for (Dative).
- wiyin *N* long.
- wubur?, wu:bur? *N* sweat.
- wuḍač-u- *V5intr* to cease, to

- stop (doing); to be away.
- wujal *N* 'black plum' tree, *Vitex glabrata*. Perhaps also *Vitex acuminata*. *Syn* wuŋdan?
- wukaŋar *N* hawkbill turtle.
- wukaŋiĉ *N* dugong, sea-cow.
- wu:kaŋa *N* a small, light brown ground frog (toad). *Syn* bakbir?. *Cf.* gaŋmaŋ, bakuŋbakuŋ, yaŋmal?
- wu:k-u- *V5intr* to crave (Dative). Can be used in sexual sense.
- wukuĉ *N* large goanna, *Varanus gouldii*. *Syn* banguŋa, waĉuŋdu.
- wukuŋ *N* cloud.
- wulburk *N* a eucalypt with smooth white bark found along river banks. Similar to ɖarawk.
- wuljuwulju?, wulyuwulyu? *N* a small plant found in saltpans, probably *Tecticornia australasica*.
- wuŋat-ɖu- *V5tr* to finish off. gapu wuŋat-miriw Don't finish off the water!
- wuŋumu *N* tall grasses, probably *Sorghum spp.* Distinct from maɖaɖupa and gaɖalbar.
- wuŋwulŋ *N* tadpole. *Syn* gaŋka?. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu wuŋwuŋ.
- wuŋdan? *N* 'black plum' tree, *Vitex glabrata*. (N. Scarlett reports; also *Vitex acuminata*). *Syn* wujal.
- wuŋjaŋu *N* a tall sedge with edible roots, found in brackish water, *Scirpus littoralis*.
- wu:ñ *N* object, e.g. piece of clothing, used in black magic directed against its owner. wuñ-mara- *Vtr* (with ma:ra-) to curse by performing black magic with such an object.
- wuraŋ *N* darter, 'diver duck'. *Syn* garakarak.
- wuray *N* 1. devil, ghost.  
2. mantis or stick insect, thought to be associated with devils. *Cf.* mu:kuy.
- wurɖa?-yu- *V5tr* to throw.
- wurk *N* small bush fire set deliberately by men, while hunting kangaroos.
- wurkaɖi *N* biting reddish ant *sp.* *Syn* miŋiĉi.
- wurkumuŋ *N* cooked; ripe. *Cf.* buŋum.
- wurñiŋ?-maŋa *Vtr* (with *Caus* -maŋa-) to spear with a wire spear (wiŋmur). *Cf.* ɖat-bar?-maŋa-, listed under bar?-yu-.
- wurpaŋ *N* emu. *Syn* warakan. wurpaŋ-ŋiniŋ western brown snake; a tree *sp.* with small leaves.
- wuruŋuŋ *N* a reddish fly, said to be common in caves.
- wurupul *N* a snake, apparently the freshwater snake, *Amphiesma mairii*. Said by some to be a synonym of miŋɖalŋ, but some distinguish them.
- wur-yu-, wur-u- *V5intr* (machine, truck, etc.) to make a loud or rumbling noise. *Rdp* wuru?-wur-u-.
- wur?-yu- *V5tr* to pull up, to uproot.
- wurañbir *N* a bird, perhaps a honeyeater.
- wuraŋ *N* a grass with sharp blades, found near water, *Imperata cylindrica*.
- wurburk *N* a tree, *Tristania lactiflua*. *Syn* gulpu?
- wurk-u- *V5intr* to swallow.
- wurŋ-gu- *V5tr* to suck.
- wutbur *N* green plum tree, *Buchanania obovata*, especially saplings. *Cf.* birgi?, muñjuĉ.



wut-du- *V5tr* to hit. *Rdp*  
 wufu?-wut-du-. *Recip*  
 wut-du-n-mi- to get into a fight.  
 giliŋ-wut-du- to attach spear-  
 head to spear shaft.

wuwaŋku *N* taipan snake. Variant  
 of gubaŋku.

## Y

yaka *Part* Negative particle in  
 prohibitives. yaka + ŋi: ŋi:n-i  
 Don't sit! yaka-ŋu No!;  
 emphatic negative. yaka-ŋu + ŋay  
 wa:ni-na-?may? He never went;  
 He absolutely did not go.

ya:ku *N* named. Used in apposition  
 to the name. munuma-du ya:ku-du  
 a man named Munuma (*Ergative*).  
*Cf.* garaŋ.

yakur *N* sleep.

yakur?-yu- *V5intr* to be tired or  
 sleepy.

yaku?-yu- *V5intr* to say/think/do  
 like that. Probably derived from  
 the demonstrative yaku(y) 'this'.  
 Occasionally *V5tr* to say to  
 (someone), *cf.* Text 32.1.

yalbuyalbu *N* tortoise *sp.*, said  
 to be common at Roper River and  
 Roper Valley. *Cf.* maḍalač,  
 gurupi!.

yalu *N* nest.

yaluk-di- *Vintr* (with *Inch* -ti-)  
 to be hungry. *Syn* marja?-di-.

yalwaŋ *N* old-fashioned canoe made  
 from stringybark.

yal?-yu- *V5intr* (place, or  
 weather) to be cool. *Caus*  
 yal?-(yu-n-)maŋa- to refresh.

ya:l *N* a tree, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.  
*Syn* malwan. These terms can be  
 interchanged with mi:li  
 (*Thespesia populnea*); both trees  
 are used for making spear shafts.

yalabur-yu-, yalabur-u- *V5intr*  
 (group) to fall down together.

*Cf.* bur?bur-yu-.

yalbun *N* water lily; edible  
 portions of water lilies.

yalkarangar?-yu- *V5tr* to separate,  
 to divide into separate piles.

yalur? *N* a water snake, possibly  
*Acrochordus granulatus*, a kind  
 of file snake.

ya:mañ *N* edible root, *Marsdenia*  
 and/or *Cynanchum spp.*  
 (N. Scarlett). Very similar to  
 barkan?.

yamba *Part* because.

yambalal *N* small, blackish  
 snake *sp.* found in trees.  
 Similar to buŋul.

yamiñji *N* 1. lightning.

2. gecko lizard, which makes  
 the lightning. Variant of  
 ɾamiñji. *Syn* maykaraŋ?,  
 bandayama?.

yaŋun? *N* a grub found in ant  
 mounds (curl grub?).

yañbulu *N* a palm *sp.*, apparently  
*Ptychosperma elegans*. Variant  
 ɾañbulu. *Syn* ŋakbanŋa.

yaŋaŋ-u- *V5intr* to talk loudly.

yapa- *N* elder sister.

ya:ra *N* thief. yara-mara-  
*Vtr* (with ma:ra-) to steal.  
 yara-birka?-yu- *V5tr* to call a  
 thief, to accuse of stealing.

yaraga?-yu- *V5tr* to grind (nuts  
 of cycad palms, ŋaŋu). *Cf.*  
 yaŋ?-yu-, ɾa:č-u-.

yaral?yaral *N* kingfisher.  
*Syn* jiriḍiḍi.

yaraŋu *N* yaraŋu-miri true.

yarara?-yu- *V5intr* to hook up  
 spear.

-yarara-yu- *V5intr* ŋuru-yarara-  
 yu- to form a queue.

yarga?-yu- *V5tr* to sharpen.

- yark-u- *V5intr* to go away; to shift around (in one's seat).  
*Syn* yirgiḍi?-yu-.
- yarḡa *N* antmound, termite mound. *Syn* ḡanda.
- yarpañ *N* honey bee (*Trigona* sp.), 'long-nosed sugarbag' (called thus because of long entrance tunnel to hive). *Syn* yuḍupal. Called miṅiguya in Nunggubuyu.
- yar-yu- *V5tr* to shake (tree, in order to knock down fruits or nuts).
- yaṛmal? *N* a light-coloured, ground-dwelling frog sp.  
*Cf.* bakuṅbakuṅ, wu:kaṛa, etc.
- yaṛ?-yu- *V5tr* to scrape. *Syn* ṛa:č-u-.
- yatbuwa *N* 1. seaweed. *Cf.* mamuṅu!u.  
2. high waves (in sea). *Cogn* Nunggubuyu yadbuwa 'cuttlefish shell' (often strewn up on beach along with seaweed).
- yawiriñ *N* single boy, unmarried man, bachelor.
- yaw-u-, ya:w-u- *V5tr* to spear many times, to spear through and through. *Rdp* yaw?-yaw-u-.
- ya:wuñ *N* whistling tree, *Casuarina* sp. Applied inconsistently to one or another of the two spp., *cf.* jumula?, baṛagar?. Sometimes applied to *Grevillea pteridifolia* (watbaṛ). *Cf.* also ya:wuñjur.
- ya:wuñjur, yawuñjur *N* whistling tree. Like ya:wuñ, this term is used inconsistently, and is not always considered a synonym of ya:wuñ.
- yay?-yu- *V5intr* to call out 'yay!' in ritual performances (a sort of chorus punctuating solo chants, *cf.* biṛkar?-yu- and gunbuṛ?-yu-).
- yidaki *N* 1. didjeridu.  
2. tree whose wood is used for didjeridu, *Eucalyptus ferruginea*.
- yidip-u- *V5intr* to plunge into water.
- yika *N* which? where?  
Variant of ṇika.
- yi:ku? *N* not yet ripe; not yet laid (used of eggs).
- yilip-u- *V5intr* to bathe, to be(come) immersed in water.  
*Syn* ṇaṇ?-gu-.
- yimimi? *N* 'leichhardt tree', *Nauclea coadunata*; possibly also *Gmelina dalrympleana*.  
*Syn* ḡu:bal. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu yimimi.
- yindi, yindi? *N* 1. big.  
2. big toe, thumb.  
*Rdp* yindi?-yindi, yindi?-yindi?
- yirgiḍi?-yu- *V5intr* to squirm, to shift position uneasily.  
*Syn* yark-u-.
- yi:ri? *N* owl sp., perhaps the powerful owl.
- yiriča *N* one of the patrilineal moieties. *Cf.* ḡu:wa.
- yirir? *N* wrinkle, fold.  
buku-yirir?-miri having wrinkles on one's forehead.
- yirir?-yu- *V5intr* to become folded or wrinkled. Related to yirir?.
- yirḡalk *N* a small rock wallaby, perhaps *Petrogale* sp. (*Syn* gaṇḡawul?), but possibly a different sp.
- yir-u- *V5intr* to sneak away, to flee.
- yir?-yu- *V5intr* (sun) to set.
- yiwaḷkurk *N* clam sp. found in tidal rivers. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu (yi:-)waḷgurg.
- yuḍupal *N* honey bee (*Trigona* sp.).  
*Syn* yarpañ.
- yuḍu?-yu- *V5intr* to lie, to tell lies; to pretend. yuḍu?-yu-n + ṇay ṇu:ra-ṇa-ṛawu He pretends to sleep (Infinitive).
- yu:kaḡa *N* a vine with edible

taproot, *Cayratia trifolia*.  
*Syn* buwakul, majalaḍi?

yukuwa? *N* a small scrambling  
 plant with long edible root,  
*Vigna vexillata*. *Syn*  
 gulpaṛuṇ?, bunbun?.

yu:l, yul *N* man, person,  
 Aboriginal. In singular  
 normally yu:l-ṇu (yul-ṇu).  
 yu:l-baṭa-ṇu boss (of a man);  
 relative, kinsman.

yuluč-u- *V5tr* to sneak up to.

yuluḷ?-yu- *V5intr* to hide.

yup-u- *V5intr* 1. (hair) to fall  
 out.

2. to be removed from  
 (something).

3. (tide) to go down.  
*Caus* yup-(u-n-)maṛa- to remove  
 (clothing).

yurk *Adv* (lying) in ambush  
 (Text 38.1). yurk-ḍara- *V2intr*  
 to be in seclusion (e.g. widow  
 after husband's death).

yurum *N* well, waterhole.

yurumbu- *V6Bintr* or yurum-bu-  
*Vintr* (with bu-) to dig a  
 well. Related to yurum.

yuṛa- *V6Aintr* to agree, to  
 assent, to say yes to (Dative).  
 yuṛa-wala + ṇara-ku + ṇay  
 He said yes to me.

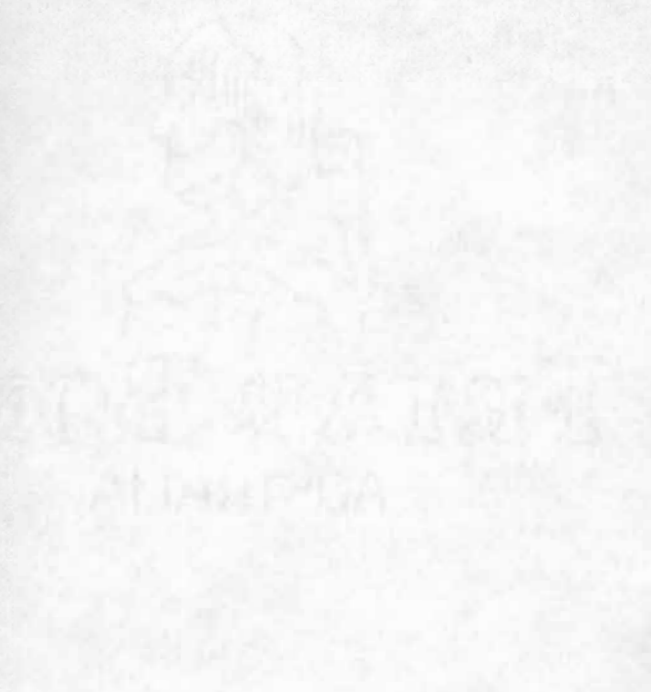
yur?-yu- *V5intr* to get up.

yut-ḍu- *V5intr* to rush along,  
 to run, to go fast.  
 guñja?-yut-ḍu- to run away in  
 fear. yay-yut-ḍu- or  
 ṛay-yut-ḍu- to rush along with.  
*Rdp* yuḍu-yut-ḍu-.

yu:tu *N* small; child. *Rdp*.  
 yū-yutu. Diminutive  
 yu:tu-gañṇaṇ?, yu:tu-ṇañṇaṇ?  
 small child. yu:tu-yaṇṇu  
 baby (*Pl* yu:tu-yaṇṇu-ṇu).

yuwalk *N* body, torso.  
 ṇu:ra-ṇa-ṇiri? + ṇay yuwalk-  
 miṛiw ṇa:-wala-ṇmay? + ṇara  
 I saw only where he had been,  
 not him in person.

yuwaṭa *N* not secret or sacred,  
 public, 'open'.



LEXICAL DOMAINS: FLORA-FAUNA AND (HUMAN) BODY PARTS



## FLORA (darpa, rana?, mulmu)

(a) *water lilies and their parts:*

balka|, biđil, burpa?, đalapu|,  
đatam, đi:raŋ, giŋgil, giri?,  
guṭuŋ, ŋuŋ, ŋawŋkŋaw, ri:raŋ,  
wakwak, ya|bun.

(b) *other aquatic plants:*

jalagu?, ja|akja|ak, |irčal,  
mača, mamuŋu|u, muŋu|u, ŋu:rč,  
yatbuwa.

(c) *edible roots and yams:*

bambulk, barkan?, biđijir?,  
bindar?, bunbun?, buñjul,  
burukuy?, buwakul, da:w?,  
đawalala?, đikala?, đimarkalaŋ?,  
đandigulk, đalpiñ, ganguri?,  
ganipar, gaŋay?, gulpaŋuŋ?,  
gumili, jagur?gur, ja|ađi?,  
jalagu?, jalma, jamulu?,  
janamar, jaray?, jar?mawul,  
jiri?, julukuŋ, maba|pi,  
majalađi?, mapu|kuma?, maŋpuy,  
mawunu?, mulalu, mulkmulk,  
mu:ŋa?, muŋuṭulu?, ŋambiŋ?ŋambiŋ,  
ŋarmuđa?, ŋaṭukura?, řa:kay,  
řiñ?jaŋu, wađa?ŋu, wa|uŋu,  
wañjalpu?, warŋaṭ, wuŋjaŋu,  
ya:mañ, yu:kada, yukuwa?.

(d) *grasses and similar plants:*

ba:mbič, biŋday, biñgur, butbi,  
đindi?, gađalbar, giringiriŋ?,  
guŋjilk, ja:lŋ, jalpur, jiriŋ,  
|u|umara, mađađupa, mamuŋu|u,  
munmun?, ŋaŋar?, wuljuwulju?,  
wu|umu, wuřay.

(e) *vines and herbs:*

banbu|ara, banbu|iri|iri,  
baŋmurk (*wild cucumber*), bindiyay,  
buđalkiñ, burpaŋđala, đagač,  
đalgir (*orchid*), damurkđamurk  
(*melon*), dipu, đilipiñgirk  
(*mistletoe*), đu|wan (*fern*),  
đu:ŋđa? (*bloodroot*), ganbukbuk,  
ganbu|iri|iri?, garwaŋ, gi|igi|k,  
giřba (*wild passionfruit*),  
guŋarkuŋar, guranguŋa?, jalkurk  
(*orchid*), ja:lulu? (*wild grape*),  
ja|i, jamandar, jamban, minga?,  
miŋŋal, munbi, murña?, murñi?,  
muyuŋu, ŋa:|ik (*gooseberry*),  
nuruŋin? (*wild banana*).

(f) *paperbark trees:*

barčaraŋ, batara, biđipiđi,  
đila, đindin?, du:ku?, đulgu,  
gulukulun?, guruwul, jiri,  
mungur, řakala?.

(g) *wattles:*

ba|ara?, baralk, đukul, đurči?,  
galařay?, gaypa|?, ju|u?.

(h) *euca|pyts:*

baṭbarara?, bu:ŋu?, đarawk  
(*ghost gum*), đarawañ?, đu|u|u?  
(*bloodwood*), gađayka? (*stringy-*  
*bark*), giřiri? (*ghost gum*),  
guŋuru? (*woollybutt*), guřčal?,  
muču (*coolibah*), ŋalaŋga?  
(*river red gum*), ŋaŋŋil?,  
wa|an? (*hill coolibah*),  
waŋđuwa? (*bloodwood*), wulburk,  
yiđaki.

(i) *palms, cycads, and pandanus:*

ba|pa|? (*cycad*), bulmurk (*palm*),  
đalpi? (*fan-palm*), gataru  
(*coconut*), gunga (*pandanus*),  
guřič (*fan-palm*), ja:jak (*fan-*  
*palm*), ŋakbanna (*palm*), ŋaṭu  
(*cycad*), řañbulu or yañbulu  
(*palm*).

(j) *other trees and shrubs:*

ba:ču?, bađay (*banyan*), balmaŋ?,  
ba|gur (*kurrajong*), ba|kba|k,  
ba:mbu?, baŋaŋak, baŋar? (*marble*  
*tree*), baŋđulkaŋđulk, baraka|?,  
bařagar? (*whistling tree*),  
baymaŋ?, bi|?bi|, bi|mir,  
birgi? (*green plum*), biřay?,  
bololo, bu:č (*ironwood*),  
buđuga?, bulgut (*kurrajong*),  
bu|uruka?, bu|yapu|ya, buŋjuŋu?  
(*wild orange*), burpaŋđala,  
buřumu?, buřurpuřur, buyu?,  
đamaṭama?, đilmiñin, đič?đič,  
đubai (*leic|hardt tree*),  
đagirič, đalkurk (*mangrove*),  
đandigulk (*wild cassava*),  
đangapa?, đangi? (*billygoat*  
*plum*), đaraw? (*quinine bush*),  
điriw?, đulđu|, đulwir?,  
đu|buđu|u? (*sandalwood*),  
đu|umu? (*quinine bush*),  
đururungič, gađačibala?,  
ga|ura?, gandamukuy, gaŋa  
(*mangrove*), gaŋgi? (*cypress*),

gañawu (*Queensland tar tree*),  
 garačimarčmarč, garayuru,  
 garngarŋ, gawačark, girgit  
 (*kurrajong*), gulu?, gułiriłiri?,  
 gumbu, guñiñara? (*fig*), gurumu?,  
 gutu?, jalanda, jalacała?  
 (*banksia*), jañba (*banyan*),  
 ja:ñi? (*conkerberry*), jača,  
 jičir, jilara? (*gutta percha*),  
 jimit, jinbirk, jingirič (*marble*  
*tree*), jirpara (*ironwood*),  
 jirambulk, jir?jir, jumula?  
 (*whistling tree*), lanapu  
 (*cypress*), liriłiri?, mabałki,  
 malwan, manjiri, mañanililik,  
 mapałku, mapałki?, mapuđumun?,  
 maraŋaji?, mañiñjar?, mawuraki?  
 (*whistling tree*), mawutari,  
 milbuťjun, milipa?, miñiča,  
 miñiyar? (*ironwood*), mulubu,  
 muñjuč (*green plum*), mupan?,  
 murpun?, mułi? (*fig*), niťun  
 (*freshwater mangrove*),  
 nungajalur, ñiriñiri? (*hakea*),  
 ñaŋaŋiññaŋi?, ñaŋamiñ, ričariť,  
 wađawada, walpurungu?-ñiniñ,  
 wałarič, warapangi (*whistling*  
*tree*), watbar (*grevillea*), wujal  
 (*black plum*), wuñdan? (*black*  
*plum*), wurpañ-ñiniñ, wurburk,  
 wutbur (*green plum*), ya:ł  
 (*hibiscus*), ya:wuñ (*whistling*  
*tree*), ya:wuñjur (*whistling tree*),  
 yimimi? (*leichhardt tree*).

## BIRDS

(a) *owls*:

đabuťabu (*nightjar*), đutburk,  
 duđuđuđu (*frogmouth*), garpaw?,  
 gułuykuluy (*frogmouth*), jikbi?  
 (*owllet-nightjar*), jirikiki?,  
 mukmuk, yi:ri?.

(b) *hawks*:

bundul, đamala (*eaglehawk*),  
 garkañ?, guručučuť?, jalamita,  
 juťbila (*osprey*), malawidiwiđi.

(c) *ducks*:

dirŋdirŋ, diwač, jilili,  
 jiribiyuk, muťali?, wałmañ.

(d) *pigeons and doves*:

bugučbuguť, đayparanji, gułutuk,  
 guťurkguťurk, la:par, łumbuk,  
 malalupa.

(e) *other birds*:

bađakawk (*jungle-fowl*), bađikan  
 (*cockatoo*), bañami (*brolga*),  
 barir?barir (*rainbowbird*),  
 biđibiđi, bi:bik (*cuckoo-*  
*shrike*), biličbilič (*parrot*),  
 biłkbiłk (*peewee*), birkbirk  
 (*plover*), buralaŋ? (*heron*),  
 buťbilkbuťbilk (*rosella*),  
 đarabiya? (*cockatoo*), dilili  
 (*peewee*), diw?diw (*dollarbird*),  
 du:waw? (*koel*), dupiđič  
 (*mistletoe bird*), gađakađa  
 (*jabiru*), gałagałk (*pelican*),  
 gałajar? (*egret*), gałkariŋu  
 (*crow*), ga:ŋdaw? (*bittern*),  
 ganji (*jabiru*), gañ?jur (*heron*),  
 garaba? (*kookaburra*), garakarak  
 (*darter*), garala (*spoonbill*),  
 garawar (*cormorant*), garbululuk  
 (*quail*), garukal? (*kookaburra*),  
 gaťkuñja? (*heron*), guđurku?  
 (*brolga*), gu:lu (*heron*),  
 guluwukbuk, gułanaŋaŋ? (*babbler*),  
 gułiban (*lorikeet*), gułunbałkara  
 (*cormorant*), gułwičbič (*finch*),  
 gumulu (*heron*), gurčit  
 (*butcherbird*), gurumba (*goose*),  
 guruwuđuk (*butcherbird*),  
 guťurguťur (*finch*), gu:wak  
 (*koel*), guwałulu (*curlew*),  
 guwiluŋ? (*curlew*), jangałan  
 (*darter*), jarađatbuwa (*rail*),  
 jarak (*gull*), jikiłirič  
 (*budgerigah*), jiliłiłi?,  
 jinaŋdar (*darter*), jiri?  
 (*corella*), jiriđiđi (*kingfisher*),  
 jirimičirimi (*willy wagtail*),  
 jiriłič (*quail*), jiriť, jiwungu  
 (*pheasant*), julwađak (*miner*),  
 jułubu (*ibis*), jumbuyŋu, juťir?  
 (*bowerbird*), juťum?juťum  
 (*lotusbird*), laŋuŋa (*goose*),  
 lindiriñ (*lorikeet*), liyamuñan  
 (*cockatoo*), ma:đawk (*friarbird*),  
 minmin? (*cockatiel*), mula,  
 mułunda (*martin*), mururunguŋa?  
 (*swampen*), ñaŋmiri (*tern*),  
 ñungululuk, ñuruŋur, ñin?  
 (*finch*), ñalalak (*corella*),  
 ñalanbirča (*plover*), ñirkŋirk  
 (*cockatoo*), walkuli (*koel*),  
 walpurungu?-ñiniñ, waŋ?waŋ?  
 (*crow*), warakan (*emu*), waťkwaťk  
 or waŋ?waŋ? or wa?wa (*crow*),  
 waykađa (*jungle-fowl*),  
 wiđiđir?wiđiđir (*wren*),  
 wilikwilik (*galah*), wiłi?wiłi,  
 wuraŋ (*darter*), wurpaŋ (*emu*),  
 wurañbir, yaral?yaral  
 (*kingfisher*).



## MAMMALS

(a) *bats and flying foxes (fruit-bats):*

gaṅguypa, warñu.

(b) *kangaroos and wallabies (ja:ča):*

baraṅgal, gaṇḍawul?, garčambal, jaṇḍil, murpungula, ṇaḷamara, yirṇalk.

(c) *other mammals:*

baranji? (*possum*), barćuma? (*native cat*), buruwaḷi? (*cat-like animal*), buṛutbuṛut (*rat*), ḍi:tun (*buffalo*), ḍurumul? (*mouse*), ḍuṭiñ? (*mouse*), ḍunga? (*bandicoot*), gaṇburk (*possum*), gatapaṇa (*buffalo*), gurumu? (*water-rat*), jirkiñ? (*rat*), miṭiwiri? (*possum*), ṇanapara? (*buffalo*), riripiriripi (*dingo-like animal*), waṅgura? (*bandicoot*), wa:raṅ (*dingo*), warpur? (*sugar glider*), waṭu (*dog*), wukaḷič (*dugong*).

## FISH

(a) *eel-tailed catfish:*

baṛčar, gaṇṇal, jambaḷak, manbiṛi, waguḷwaguḷ.

(b) *fork-tailed catfish:*

miṭurunu, ṇaragal, waṛma.

(c) *other fish:*

baladardar?, balin (*barramundi*), baṅuča (*shark*), barka? (*sawfish*), baypinga (*Saratoga*), biḍam (*long-tom*), bilṭu? (*archer fish*), biyal, buḷmaji (*shark*), ḍanguraṅ, ḍuypuṅun (*sleeper*), ḍalmaṇḍa?, ḍa:ḷuk, ḍawunburk, ḍuḷunu (*mullet*), ḍuṅum (*sleeper*), ḍurkḍurk, gaḷjara?, gaḷmanda?, garañiri, gawukaḷa (*ray*), jimikamba, jinma (*shark*), jirbili (*bony bream*), jitbidi (*archer fish*), jukaḷ (*long-tom*), juṇuḍu (*long-tom*), ḷanda?, ḷipal, maričgaḷa (*ray*), maṭbuna, minji?, miriči (*barramundi*), murka?,

mu:ṭum?, ṇambaḷ (*mouth almighty*), ṇanjuṛ, ṇatban? (*archer fish*), raṅgu (*eel*), ri:mu?, waḷkara, waṭara? (*archer fish*), wiṛič (*rainbowfish*).

## INSECTS

(a) *honey bees:*

baṛṇgič, birkuḍa, ga:mu, jaḍak, ḷirawaṛ?, ṇalkabaṛ?, ṇutaṅ, yarpañ, yuḍupal.

(b) *wasps:*

bububu, buṛam, mabubu, ṇi:r, ṇuṇuṇuṇu?

(c) *ants:*

bambaṛkbambaṛk, japu?, ḷirbuku, ma:ḷak, miṛiči, ṇa:či?, wurkaḍi.

(d) *grubs:*

ga:muṛṇ?, gaṛmuṇ?, ṇi:mbu?, yaṇun?

(e) *flies:*

balar, buwat, ḍalpa?, ḍupḍup, jirṇmiṇ, maḷamaḷ, manjiri, milpuṇ? (*firefly*), muḍuḍu, wiñinwiñin, wuruḷuḷ.

(f) *grasshoppers:*

ḍapururu?, ḍi:č, ḍikḍik, jalma.

(g) *other insects:*

baṇumbir (*ant lion larva*), buṇba (*butterfly*), bu:ruč (*mosquito*), ḍalmaṛk (*maggot*), ḍilmur (*louse*), ḍimiṭimiñ (*water insect*), ḍa:kudak (*caterpillar*), ḍapalañ (*caterpillar*), gaṇamu (*mosquito*), garaḍikaraḍi (*dragonfly*), juku (*louse*), milkmilk (*mosquito*), mu:kuy (*mantis*), ṇilaṇila (*cicada*), ṇiriṇiri?, ṇirñir?, ridiṛidi, waṛčwaṛč (*cockroach*), wuray (*mantis*).

## REPTILES AND AMPHIBIANS

(a) *tortoises*:

bakara, buruṇandi?, gurupi!,  
janga, maḍalač, mulupiṇḍa?,  
yalbuyalbu.

(b) *turtles*:

gariwa, gubiji, junuṅguyanu,  
marpaṇ, ṇalaliki, wukaḷar.

(c) *goannas*:

baḍaṭar, baṅuṇa, bijay?, biṛim,  
ḍirkḍirk, gaṛaḷa?, guḷuṅgur,  
guṇjuḷu?, jan?ga, jarka?,  
wačuṇḍu, wan?gabu, wukuč.

(d) *other lizards*:

bandayama? (*gecko*), ḍapalan?  
(*blue-tongue*), ḍakalgaḍajar,  
ḍalpur? (*two-lined dragon*),  
guḍučurk (*skink*), gurmulu?  
(*blue-tongue*), jaṅgur (*frilled*  
*lizard*), ḷakḷak (*dragon*), ḷaṇḷaṇ?  
(*dragon*), maykaraṇ? (*gecko*),  
mirwa? (*frilled lizard*), ṇamini  
(*snake-lizard*), ṇaṭarṇ,  
račgubiṛa, ṛamiṇji or yamiṇji  
(*gecko*).

(e) *crocodiles*:

baraḍuka?, gaḍukaḍu, ṇaṇar, ṇa:w?.

(f) *snakes* (ba:pi):

baṇbaḷu (*death adder*), buruṭji  
(*python*), buṛul, ḍaḷara (*king*  
*brown*), gaḷča (*python*), gaṛananga?  
(*tree snake*), gubaṛku (*taipan*),  
guḷunbuṭalak (*python*), guṇḍuru  
(*python*), guṇuṇu (*python*),  
guṇiṇmiya? (*tree snake*),  
jaṇmijaṇmi? (*file snake*),  
jaṅkuṇ (*file snake*),  
ḷuṭay (*python*), maḷakay, miṇḍaḷṇ,  
mu:ḷ? (*whip snake*), mundukuḷ  
(*python*), wurpaṇ-ṇiniṇ, wurupul,  
yaḷur?, yambalaḷ.

(g) *frogs*:

bakbir?, bakuṇbakuṇ, gaḷka?  
(*tadpole*), gaṛmaṇ, ṇa:ial,  
wu:kara, wuḷkuḷk (*tadpole*),  
yarmaḷ?

## OTHER FAUNA

(a) *crustaceans*:

ḍakawa? (*crayfish*), ḍiriwili?  
(*crab*), jiṇjalma? (*crab*),  
ḷa:ṅgurk (*crayfish*), mačakutu?  
(*crayfish*), murarapu?  
(*crayfish*).

(b) *shells*:

gulkiya-ṇiniṇ, jambapa?, jargiṭ,  
jirkjirk, juḷku?, mambal?,  
miṇḍuṇ?, ṇaḷawilī, yiwaḷkurk.

(c) *other invertebrates*:

baṅumbir (*starfish*), bi:ṇ  
(*worm*), ga:r? (*spider*), gaywar  
(*jellyfish*), jaṭam (*centipede*),  
jimi? (*leech*), ḷa:ṅgurk (*grub*),  
maḷa (*scorpion*), mapuṇ (*spider*),  
ṇi:kur? (*leech*), ṇarambali?  
(*scorpion*), wa:y? (*worm*?).

## BODY PARTS AND SECRETIONS

ba:ka (*lower leg*), balkač  
(*backbone*), balkay (*urine*),  
balṭar (*leg*), baṇbaḷaṇ (*brain*),  
biṇiṇ (*nail*), buku (*forehead*),  
bulka? (*body hair*), bupup  
(*throat*), burkun (*scar*),  
burupuru? (*spots on body*),  
buṛuṇur (*testicles*), buṭuru  
(*ear*), ḍa:la (*gullet*), ḍilči  
(*back*), ḍiṇḍiṇ (*kidney*),  
ḍuṇuru (*ankle*), ḍa: (*mouth*),  
ḍaku (*vulva*), ḍamun (*chin*),  
ḍaramu (*upper leg*), ḍara (*anus*),  
ḍi:ḷṇ (*tongue*), ḍuḍi (*bone*  
*above buttocks*), ḍuri  
(*excrement*), gaḍa? (*chest*),  
galmak (*kidney*), guḷa? (*skin*),  
guḷiči (*excrement*), guḷuk  
(*neck*), guḷun (*belly*), gumur  
(*brisket*), gu:ṇ (*hand*), gurka  
(*penis*), gurkur (*vein, sinew*),  
garpala (*knee*), gupa (*nape*),  
gurak (*throat*), jarangay?  
(*little finger*), jarwaḷk  
(*shoulder blade*), jiṇi (*buttock*),  
jukur (*fat*), ḷami (*hip*), ḷira  
(*tooth*), ḷiya (*head*), ḷuku  
(*foot*), makar (*thigh*), ma:kiṛi?  
(*earhole*), malkbič (*sinew, vein*),  
ma:mbur (*wrist*), maṇuči (*eye*),  
mara (*head hair*), maṭiṇḍi?

(collarbone), mayan (neck),  
 midimiđi (rib), mi:l (eye),  
 milkari (tears), milkir (eye),  
 milipi? (shoulder blade), mim?bu  
 (scar), miñikar (eyebrow),  
 miñinalaŋal (eyebrow), mu|kur  
 (head), mundu (lower back), muŋ  
 (shoulder), muŋda (sinew),

nuŋgur (elbow), na|tir (liver),  
 ŋa:l (saliva), ŋamini (breast),  
 ŋapa (backbone), ŋaŋaka (bone),  
 ŋuru (nose), ŋurul? (navel),  
 ŋu:y (heart), ɾa:w? (body hair)  
 wakuy (armpit), waŋa (arm),  
 war?war (lung), wubur? (sweat).



ENGLISH INDEX



## A

*absent* yaku *N*  
*accuse* See 'blame'  
*afraid* guñja?-gi- *Vintr*  
*afternoon* ripuru-miri *Adv*  
*again* bulu *Part*  
*ahead* na:xiili *Adv*  
*alive* walqa *N*  
*alone* ga:na *N*, malga? *N*  
*always* muñuy? *Adv*  
*angry* mañi?-yu- *V5intr* mañi-ñu *N*  
*ant mound* ganda *N*, yarnga *N*  
*anyway* warmbaya *Part*  
*appear* See 'go out'  
*appearance* burk *N*  
*armband* jañi *N*, qarwir *N*, nañbak *N*  
*ashes* buñu? *N*, ganu? *N*  
*ask* wañal?-yu- *V5tr*  
*assent, agree* nuñ?-gu- *V5intr*,  
 yura- *V6Aintr*  
*awake* (mil-)ñiru?ñir-u- *V5intr*,  
 (mil-)ñilikñilik-u- *V5intr*  
*axe, tomahawk* gapamaña *N*,  
 biñjara? *N*, la?la *N*

## B

*bachelor* yawiriñ *N*  
*bad* miñiku?-ñu *N*, wakin *N*  
*bait* mu:du? *N*  
*(river) bank* mirñ *N*  
*(tree) bark* guña? *N* ('skin')  
*bark (of dog)* ñak-u- *V5intr*

*bark fibre* gayark *N*, jirpañ *N*  
*basket* bulpu? *N*, mariñ *N*  
*bathe* See 'go into water'  
*beach* mañaña? *N*, rañi *N*  
*because* yamba *Part*  
*before* na:xiili *Adv*  
*beget* malga- *V6Atr*  
*behind* bañjiya *Adv*  
*(string) belt* biñal *N*  
*bend* See 'crooked'  
*bestow, promise* dawu?-ga- *V6Atr*  
 milmara *N*  
*big* ñilkuru *N*, ñumuru *N*,  
 ñarpal *N*, naña?-ñaña *N*, wañar *N*,  
 yindi *N*  
*billabong* ñigañ *N*, ñayangula? *N*  
*bite* baña- *V3tr*, law- *V6Btr*  
*bitter-tasting* balkiñ *N*, gujak *N*  
*black* mu:l *N*, mul?mul *N*  
*blame* birka?-yu- *V5tr*  
*blind* bambay *N*  
*blink* (mil-)ñilikñilik-u- *V5intr*  
*block* gañ?-yu- *V5tr*  
*bloom* baw-u- *V5intr*  
*blow* bu:ñ-yu- *V5intr*  
*blunt* ñalan *N*, ñulukunñ *N*  
*boat* barawu *N*  
*boil* nañnat-ñu- *V5intr*  
*boomerang* gañigañi? *N*  
*boss, owner* buñgawa *N*  
*bottom* maya *N*  
*branch* balñar *N* ('leg')



*break* ḡar?-yu- V5tr, lar?-yu- V5intr

*break off* bak-u- V5intr,  
ḡaṭ-ḡu- V5intr

*breathe* ḡiṛ?-yu- V5intr

*build fire* ḡanapa- V4tr

*burn* mur-u- V5intr, baḡa- V3tr,  
ḡara- V2intr (see also 'light')

*bury* See 'cover'

*bush* ḡu:ḡu N

*buzz* ḡulḡul-u- V5intr, ḡiṛ-u- V5intr, waw-u- V5intr

## C

*call (name)* laḡara- V6Atr

*call out, shout* wa:t-ḡu- V5tr

*camouflage* ḡu:l? N

*camp* wa:ḡa N, ḡaḡak-u- V5intr

*canoe* ḡaku? N, yalwar N

*carry* biṭi?-yu- V5tr, ḡubuk-u- V5tr, ḡa:- V6Btr, ḡuruka- V6Atr,  
miṇḡir?-yu- V5tr

*carve* ḡip-u- V5tr (see also 'cut')

*catch fish* jibuk-u- V5intr

*cave* miṛ? N

*cease* ḡuṭ-ḡu- V5intr

*cement* See 'wax'

*ceremony* ḡarḡmak N, maḡayin N

*charcoal* ḡarkan N, maḡalk N

*chase* See 'follow'

*child* jama N (see also 'small')

*chop* ḡu:- Vtr, ḡurka- Vtr,  
jat-ḡu- V5tr

*circumcised* ḡurmul N

*clay* ḡalaḡar? N, buḡalak N,  
ḡamunungu? N, ḡiliri? N,  
manḡga N

*clean, clear* ruwal?-yu- V5intr,  
warakayaw? N

*clearing* warara N

*clever* ḡalaḡ N

*close* ḡam?-bu- V5intr

*cloud* ḡuḡuḡ N, waḡupini N,  
wukuḡ N

*coffin* ḡara? N

*coil* ḡarpi- V4tr

*cold, winter* maṭun N, ḡulbič N,  
yal?-yu- V5intr

*come* See 'go'

*cook* baḡa- V3tr, bul-ḡara- V2intr, ḡuḡal?-yu- V5tr,  
ḡu:ṭa- V3tr, laray?-yu- V5tr,  
ḡirma?-yu- V5tr, ruwam?-bu- V5intr, waḡatbu- V6Btr

*cooked, ripe* buṛum N,  
wurkumuḡ N

*cooliman* mungur N

*copulate* ḡuka- V4tr

*corner* lu:ñ N

*cough* ḡuruṛ?-yu- V5intr

*count* rakbu- V6Btr

*country* ḡawal N

*cover* ḡabuk-u- V5tr, ḡa:ka- V3tr

*crack* ḡal?-yu- V5intr

*crave* wu:k-u- V5intr

*crawl* ḡiriṛ?-yu- V5intr, ḡuṛ-u- V5intr, ḡalala-yu- V5intr,  
wakala- V6Aintr

*crooked* bil?-yu- V5intr, jarpi N, lu!ṭ!u! N, ñiwuḡ?-maḡa- Vtr

*cry* ḡa:ṭi- V1intr

*curse (by magic)* burpuy-bu- *Vtr*,  
waɾbu- *V6Btr*, wuñ-mara- *Vtr*

*cut* barak-u- *V5tr*, ɖak-u- *V5tr*,  
ɖal-u- *V5tr*, gul-k-u- *V5tr*,  
jark-u- *V5tr*, ɭar?ɭar-yu- *V5tr*,  
ɭark-bu- *Vtr*, mit-ɖu- *V5tr*  
(see also 'chop', 'carve')

*cyclone* walulu *N*, wa:r(k) *N*

## D

*damper (bread)* gandiri *N*, ga:r *N*

*dance* gičba?-yu- *V5intr*,  
ɭambu?-yu- *V5intr*

*dangerous* maɖakarič *N*

*dark* muk-u- *V5intr*

*dawn* See 'morning'

*day(time)* waɭir-puy, bir-yu-  
*V5intr*, gawaɾ?-yu- *V5intr*

*dead* See 'die', 'raw'

*devil* wuray *N*, mu:kuy *N*, wirngiŋ *N*

*dew* See 'fog'

*diarrhoea* biɭk-u- *V5intr*

*didjeridu* yiɖaki *N*, bu:p-u- *V5intr*

*die* guyupa- *V2intr*, mu:kuy-ɭi-  
*Vintr*, ɾakuñ-ɖi- *Vintr*

*dig* bi:la- *V6Atr*, ɲur?-yu- *V5intr*,  
yurumbu- *V6Bintr*

*dillybag* maɭaka *N*, maɭga *N*

*dive* See 'go into water'

*do that* yaku?-yu- *V5intr*

*down* ɖiripi *Adv* (see also 'bottom')

*draw* jaŋ?-gu- *V5tr*, ɾarkbu-  
*V6Btr*

*dream* bukaway *N*

*dreaming* ɖa:la *N*, wirji? *N*

*drink* muŋ-gu- *V5intr*

*drip* ɖal?ɖal?-yu- *V5intr*

*drown* ɭuɭu?-yu- *V5intr*

*dry* baŋɖaŋ *N*, buɾk *N*,  
ɖara?-yu- *V5intr*, ɖay-u-  
*V5intr*, ñamaɭŋ *N*, ɾa:wak *N*

*dust* buŋulk *N*

## E

*east* ɾawaraŋ *N*

*eat* ɭuka- *V2tr*, ñaŋ?-gu- *V5intr*

*egg* ma:mbu? *N*, mapu? *N*

*empty* gu:ma *N*

*enjoy* See 'like'

*enter* gari- *Vlintr*,  
juɖup-u- *V5intr*

*entire* bukaŋu *N*, bu:kmak *N*

*erect* ɲirpa- *V4tr*

*every* waɭaman? *N*, warpam? *N*

## F

*fall* bur?bur-yu- *V5intr*,  
munbap (root form), galki-  
*Vintr*, ɲaraw?-wu- *V5intr*,  
ɲurk-u- *V5intr*, wir?-yu-  
*V5intr*, yaɭabur-yu- *V5intr*,  
yup-u- *V5intr*

*far away* barku *N/Adv*, jučuč  
*Adv*, ɲutu *Adv*

*fart* ɖirŋ?-gu- *V5intr*

*fat* ñaray?-yu- *V5intr*

*feather* buɭuk *N*, gaŋaŋaŋja? *N*,  
waŋgar *N*

*feel sorry* See 'pity'

*female* ɖuykun *N*

*few* See 'several'

*fighting stick* See 'nulla nulla'  
*fin* miliñ ('hook')  
*finish* wu|at-ɖu- V5tr  
*fire* gurɣa N, wurk N  
*firestick* ɖuruman N, jaɖa-yu- V5intr, ma|ark N  
*firewood* ba:l N  
*first-born* ma|amar N  
*fish* See 'catch fish'  
*flash* See 'lightning'  
*flat country* See 'plain'  
*flee* yiɾ-u- V5intr  
*flesh* birpa? N, guñjak N, jala N, jingu(l) N  
*flip over* See 'turn over'  
*float* buɾagal?-yu- V5intr, galu?gal-u- V5intr  
*flood* jurjur N, naɾkula N, waɾaɕara N  
*flower* ɖaɱara? N  
*fly* (verb) buɕ-ɖu- V5intr, bul?war-yu- V5intr, guɖam?-bu- V5intr, jawar?-yu- V5intr  
*fog, dew* gaɖaɱ N, ga:r? N  
*fold* yirir? N  
*follow, chase* mal?-yu- V5tr, mungu-yu- V5tr, ɱupa- V3tr  
*food* See 'meat', 'vegetable food'  
*forever* balanu Adv  
*forget* See 'lose'  
*forked stick* mangala N  
*fresh* (water) barapa N  
*full* ɖaɱaɱ N, maɾaɱi- Vintr  
*fur* ɾa:w? N, bulka? N

## G

*gather* ɖit-ɖu- V5tr, mutbu- V6Btr  
*generous* wiɕ-ɖaɾpal-ɱu N  
*get, pick up* baɕ (root form), ma:ra- Vtr, ɖit-ɖu- V5tr, ga|u?-yu- V5tr  
*get up* wit-ɖu- V5intr  
*gill* ɖaɱa|aɱaɱ? N  
*girl* miyalk N, wirkul N  
*give* gurupa- V4tr, gala?-yu- V5tr  
*go, come* wa:ni- V1intr, birɱ?-gu- V5intr, gali?-yu- V5intr, guɱaɱ?-gu- V5intr, guɾuɱu?-yu- V5intr  
*go across* buɖap-u- V5intr  
*go around* gapilil-yu- V5intr, guɾariɕ-u- V5intr  
*go down* ba|a|?-yu- V5intr  
*go into water* ɖurmuɕ-ɖu- V5intr, ja|pur-u- V5intr, ju|ur-yu- V5intr, jur?-yu- V5intr, |up-u- V5intr, |u:-yu- V5intr, ɱaɱ?-gu- V5intr, yiɖip-u- V5intr, yi|ip-u- V5intr  
*go out* |aw?-wu- V5intr, ma|ɱ?-gu- V5intr, ma:m?-bu- V5intr  
*go past* ju|k-u- V5intr/V5tr  
*go up* ɖuwaɕ-ɖu- V5intr, ɱal?-yu- V5intr, walma?-yu- V5intr  
*good* ɱamakuli N, ɱama-ɕi- Vintr  
*greedy* gu|ga? N, wiɕ-miɾiw N  
*grind* yaraga?-yu- V5tr  
*grinding stone* |imbik N, ma:|? N  
*groan* ɱu|ur?-yu- V5intr  
*ground* julka N, gabaɱ N, man?ga N  
*group* mala N, ba:puru N  
*grow* ɖamulɱ?-gu- V5intr, guɾaɾ-ɕi- Vintr, ɱuɕa- V3intr

gut (verb) jiŋjiŋ-bu- Vtr

## H

halfway guwa! Adv

hang gu:ru- V6Bintr

happy (mar-)ŋama-ŋi- Vintr

hard, powerfully murkay Adv

harpoon ɽaɽar N

head for guɽul?-yu- V5tr

headache margul?-yu- V5intr

headband ba:guɽu N

healed, healthy biɭaraŋ-ɖi- Vintr,  
ɖawala N

hear guyaŋa- V2tr, ŋa:- Vtr

heavy gunguy?-yu- V5intr

help gunga- V6Atr, gu:ŋga?-yu-  
V5tr

hiccup birŋiɽ?-bu- Vtr

hide bal?-yu- V5intr, mimbu-  
V6Btr, ŋiŋ?-ɖu- V5intr,  
yuɭuɭ?-yu- V5intr

hill gupa ('nape'), ŋu:ka? N

hit bu- Vtr, maypu- V6Btr,  
wut-ɖu- V5tr

hold gaɽa- V4tr, galk-u- V5tr

hole ɖuɖu? N, ja:ɭ? N

hollow tree ɖupun N, ɭarakič N

honey guku N, ŋaŋa N, ɽirbal? N

hook bikaŋ N, miliŋ N, ŋiliŋ N

hook up spear yarara?-yu- V5intr

hop See 'jump'

hot ɖuluɖuɖu? N

humpy See 'stringybark'

hungry marja?-ɖi- Vintr,  
yaluk-ɖi- Vintr

hunt galŋgalŋ-gu- V5intr,  
gučga- V6Atr, gukari- V1tr,  
ɭaw-u- V5intr, miŋgu- V6Bintr

hunter jambač N

## I

idle ɖalpan N

ignorant ɖuŋa N

immerse See 'go into water'

inactive guluŋurwa N, ɭarpam N

incite guɽ?-yu- V5tr

injured miŋɖiri N

iron bala? N

island ɽunu N

## J

jealous miŋ?-ɖu- V5intr

join ɖap-u- V5intr, manapa- V4tr

jump jumur?-yu- V5intr,  
ɖum?-bu- V5intr, wap-u- V5intr,  
warawk-u- V5intr

jungle miŋiča N, ɽi:ča N

## K

keep See 'hold'

kin terms See (3.2) in grammar

kiss buŋ?-ju- V5tr

know maŋŋi N, maɖbu- V6Btr

## L

*lame* ɲa:ŋ *N*

*land* (verb) ɢal?-yu- *V5intr*,  
jip-u- *V5intr*, jir-yu- *V5intr*

*last-born* ɢarakay *N*

*later* guruku *Adv*

*laugh* ɢur?-yu- *V5intr*

*law* ru:m *N*

*lazy* ɾalwur-yu- *V5intr*

*leaf* manjar? *N*, ɢaɗaŋ *N*

*lean* ɗumɗum?-ɢara- *V2intr*,  
ŋi?ŋi-ɢara- *V2intr*

*leave* bay?-yu- *V5tr*, ba:nu *N*,  
bubu?-yu- *V5intr*

*left* (bala-)jarpi,  
(bala-)ɢarpuɗay?, wiŋ?gu

*lick* biɭaŋ?-gu- *V5intr*

*lie* (untruth) bu-ɣi- *Vintr*,  
yuɗu?-yu- *V5intr*

*lie down* buɭar-yu- *V5intr*,  
ɢapalaŋa-ɢara- *Vintr*, ɲu:ra-  
*V2intr*, ɾul-ɲura-*V2intr*

*light* (fire) buɗɢar?-yu- *V5intr*,  
ɗul?-yu- *V5intr*, ɢawup-u- *V5intr*,  
ɢuŋguɭ?-yu- *V5intr*, liw-u- *V5intr*

*lightning* bandayama? *N*, maykaraŋ?  
*N*, ɾamiñji *N*, yamiñji *N*

*lightweight* ruwanga? *N*

*like, enjoy* wara?-yu- *V5intr*

*line* See 'queue'

*long, tall* jaka *N*, wiyin *N*

*long time* baman *N*

*look* waŋ?-ɗu- *V5intr*,  
ɢupu- *V6Bintr*

*look back* miɭŋ-gu- *V5intr*

*look for* guwaɭ?-yu- *V5intr*,  
warja?-yu- *V5intr*

*loose* ɢal?ɢal-u- *V5intr*,  
ɭap-u- *V5intr*

*lose* mu:- *V6Btr*, wiɗi?-yu- *V5intr*

## M

*make* buča- *V6Atr*, jaŋ?-gu- *V5tr*

*make string* buju?-yu- *V5tr*

*male* ɢaramu *N*, gurka-miri *N*

*man* ɢaramu *N*, yu:l-ɲu *N*

*manager* juŋgayi *N*

*many* See 'much'

*mat* bačbara? *N*

*mate* balpaɾa *N*

*maybe* ba:ri *Adv*

*meat* ɢa:ŋgu *N*

*middle* ɲapunga *N/Adv*

*milk* ɲamini *N*

*Milky Way* ma:mburkmamburk *N*

*moon* gulkiya *N*, bir?-ɢara- *Vintr*,  
ɲalt-ɗu- *V5intr*

*morning, dawn* ɢabar?-yu- *V5intr*,  
ɢuɗarpuy *Adv*, jaɗaw?-wu- *V5intr*

*Morning Star* ɲanumbir *N*

*much, many* baɾu?-ɲu *N*, ɢarpal *N*,  
guɭku *N*

*mud* ɢaɭŋa *N*, gu:ɭ? *N*

## N

*name* ɢaraɾ *N*, ya:ku *N*

*nearby* ɢalki *Adv*

*necklace* ɢiringiriŋ? *N*

*nest* yalu *N*

*net* gañbu *N*

*night* maka! *N*

*north* nururuy *N*

*now* ga:ṭura *Adv*

*nulla nulla, fighting stick*  
biṛku? *N*, guluwukbuk *N*,  
maparku *N*

## O

*ochre* duni *N*, gamurungu *N*,  
miku? *N*

*old man* jawulpa *N*

*old woman* ṇaṣiwangu *N*

*one* wiḍipiyā? *N*

*open* (ḡa:-)bar-yu- *V5intr*,  
ḡa:-yu- *V5intr*, war?war-u- *V5tr*

*other* wiṛipu *N*

*other side* laypa *Adv*

*oven* jamba! *N*

*owner* See 'boss'

## P

*paddle* ṇurkiñ?-ju- *V5intr*

*paint* See 'rub on', 'clay', 'ochre'

*painted design* jirk *N*, miñ?ji *N*,  
ṛark *N*

*paperbark* gaja? *N*, barukala? *N*

*pass* See 'go past'

*path* ma!a *N*, gaṣa! *N*

*person* yu:l-ṇu *N*

*pester* jiwir?-ḡa- *Vtr*

*pick up* See 'get'

*picture* See 'shade', 'painted  
design'

*pierce* See 'puncture'

*pile* ḡarbu- *V6Btr*

*pinch* ḡi:-yu- *V5tr*

*pipe* bamutuku? *N*, ma:ta *N*,  
larwa *N*

*pity* marbu- *V6Btr*, wiyaṭ-ḡu-  
*V5intr*

*place* See 'country'

*plain, flat country* gapa!a *N*,  
gurpulu *N*, wayala *N*

*play* wakal?-yu- *V5intr*

*plunge in* See 'go into water'

*point, spike* ma:kur *N*, mapuṇ *N*,  
ṇuru *N*

*point to* juṛ?-bu- *V6Btr*

*poison* ḡilt-ḡu- *V5tr*

*poke* ḡart-ḡu- *V5tr*

*pole* gararak *N*

*pollen* burgu? *N*

*portion* balaka *N*

*pound* barpu- *V6Btr*, bal?-yu-  
*V5tr*, jun-ḡu- *V5tr*

*pour, spill* jululu?-yu- *V5tr*,  
jur-yu- *V5tr*, larbaw?-wu- *V5tr*,  
ṛar-u- *V5tr*

*powderlike* bu!ṇu *N*, muñur *N*

*public* yuwaṣa *N*

*pull* ḡarar?-yu- *V5tr*, jarañ?-ju-  
*V5tr*, waḡay?-yu- *V5tr*

*pull up* wur?-yu- *V5tr*

*puncture* dum?-bu- *V5intr*,  
ḡarpu- *V6Btr*

*push* ḡur?-yu- *V5tr*, jujuuy?-yu-  
*V5tr* (see also 'send')

*put down* bap (root form),  
ṛulṣa- *V6Atr*

*put in, put on* mapa-*V3tr*

## Q

queue nuru-yarara-yu- V5intr

## R

rain ñalk N, garayiwiy N,  
!ika- V2intr

rainbow mu:č N, ma!akuy N

raw, unripe, dead diku N,  
ñaña!?-yu- V5intr

rebuke way?-yu- V5tr

red !irbuku N, qiriqirika? N

refuse dabadaba?-yu- V5intr

remove war?war-u- V5tr,  
wilan?-gu- V5tr

reserve wačbañiñ?-ju- V5intr

return bangu!?-yu- V5intr

reward bayara N

rip !akbu- V6Btr, !a!a?-yu- V5tr

ripe ñama!ñ (see also 'cooked')

river mayan N, waña N

road See 'path'

roast See 'cook'

root wañdal? N, gurka N

rope See 'string'

rotten barpa N

rough darkdark N

rub buður?-yu- V5tr

rub on, apply biđi?-yu- V5tr,  
đil?-yu- V5tr, guyk-u- V5tr

run yuť-đu- V5intr, burgu-yu-  
V5intr, đupđuđup-u- V5intr

## S

sacred ju:k N, mađayin N

saltwater muñuk N, maña!a? N

sand đambuř N

say See 'do that'

scar burkun N, mim?bu N

scrape wir-yu- V5tr, řa:č-u-  
V5tr, wiřiñ?-ju- V5tr,  
yar?-yu- V5tr

scratch diđi-yu- V5tr, wark-u-  
V5intr (see also 'dig')

scrub ñirgul N, ñalařa N

second-born malpuřa N

see řa:- V6Btr

send juy?-yu- V5tr

separate ya!karangar?-yu- V5tr

(sun) set ñim?-bu- V5intr,  
yir?-yu- V5intr

several !urkun N

shade, shadow guñul N, mali? N

shake mar-yu- V5intr, wilwil-yu-  
V5intr, yar-yu- V5tr

sharp yarga?-yu- V5tr

shell ñalan N, ña!awi!i N

shelter jamba N

shift yark-u- V5intr,  
yirgiđi?-yu- V5intr

shine, shiny ma!kma!k-u- V5intr,  
mi!u?mi!-u- V5intr

shoot gur?war-yu- V5tr

short đubuđu? N, đumbuñ N

shortcut giñga!a? N

show mil-gurupa- V4tr



- shut* See 'close'  
*shy* gu:ra- V2intr  
*siak* guṛ-u- V5intr, ṇur?ṇur-yu- V5intr, ɽi:rk N  
*side* ɽini N, bala- Prf  
*silly* warč-miri N  
*sing* bungul N, maḍak-u- V5intr, ɽar?-yu- V5intr, garkar-u- V5intr, manikay N  
*sit* ɽi:na- V2intr, ɽut (root form), guṛawač-u- V5intr  
*skin* (verb) gu|a?bu- V6Btr  
*slap* biṛṇ?-gu- V5tr  
*sleep* ṇu:ra- V2intr, yakur N  
*slide* ɽululu-yu- V5intr, ga|irk-u- V5intr, jačba|a|?-yu- V5intr  
*slow(ly)* bulna Adv, ganga Adv  
*small* -gañṇ? Sff, yu:ɽu N  
*smell* ɽuma- V4tr, bungan N, ɽiw-u- V5tr, ṇawut-ɽu- V5tr, ṇuyṇuy-u- V5intr  
*smile* giw-u- V5intr  
*sneak along* jiɽap-u- V5intr  
*sneak away* See 'flee'  
*sneak up* bu|?bu|-yu- V5intr, yu|uč-u- V5tr  
*sneeze* ṇurč-i?-yu- V5intr  
*snore* ṇarṇ?-gu- V5intr  
*soft* ɽulmaɽulma N  
*sore* ji:či? N, ṇarṇar-u- V5intr  
*south* ba:gay N  
*speak* waṇa- V2intr, yaṅga|-u- V5intr  
*spear* baka? N, balamuru? N, birkilin N, ɽa|ungu N, gaḍanuk N, gajit N, gami N, gujara? N, jaṇabu N, japaḍayan N, jimugu? N, maḍarpira N, ma:kur N, murṇiñ N, ɽipiri N, ṇambi N, ɽarakal? N, waḍawaḍa N, wariman N, warɽambal N, wi|mur N  
*spear* (verb) |a- Vtr, barč-u- V5tr, ɽark-u- V5tr, gaṛjar?-yu- V5tr, giṭ (root form), jar?-ɽa- Vtr, wurñiṛ?-maṛa- Vtr, yaw-u- V5tr  
*spill* See 'pour'  
*spirit* malṇuč N  
*spit* ɽup-u- V5intr, guyk-u- V5tr  
*split* bar?-yu- V5intr  
*spring* ṇačal N  
*squat* juḍu?-yu- V5intr  
*stagger* ja|aja|a?-yu- V5intr  
*stand* ɽa:ra- V2intr, jap-ɽara- V2intr  
*star* ɽapa|k N  
*steal* yara-mara- Vtr  
*step on* ɽurpaṛa- V6Atr  
*stiff* ɽa|-u- V5intr  
*sting* biṭ-ɽu- V5tr  
*stone* ṇu:ka? N, mu:ɽum N  
*storm* See 'cyclone'  
*story* ɽaṇuñ N  
*straight* ɽunupa N, warwar N  
*stranger* mulkuṛu N  
*string* balku N, garam N  
*stringybark, humpy* ṇaḍan N  
*strip off* ɽaw?-wu- V5tr, jim?-bu- V5tr  
*strong* ɽa:l N, ɽawir-yu- V5intr  
*stuck* gaṭ-ɽu- V5intr  
*stump* ɽumunumun N

*subsections* buľaň (bulaňjan?),  
gojok (gočon), wa:mut  
(wa:mučan?), gela (galijan?),  
gamaraň (gamaňjan?), balan  
(biliňjan?), ħarič (ħaričan?),  
bañiđi (bañiđijan?, bañiň)

*suck* biň?-gu- V5tr, wuř-*gu-* V5tr

*sun* wałir N

*suspicious* minjułk-u- V5intr

*swallow* wuřk-u- V5intr

*swamp* See 'plain'

*swear* biňdar-u- V5intr, ħarč-u-  
V5tr

*swell* đut-đu- V5intr

*swim* war-yu- V5intr

## T

*taboo* đuyu-đi- Vintr

*tail* miřaň N

*take* See 'carry, get'

*take away* balk-mara- Vtr,  
jaw?-wu- V5tr

*take out* See 'remove'

*talk* See 'speak;

*tall* See 'long'

*tapstick* bi!?!bi!?! N, makbař N

*taste* garma- V4tr, maň- Prf,  
miyak- Prf

*tease* řičan?-đu- V5tr

*tell* !akařa- V6Atr

*termite mound* See 'ant mound'

*thief* ya:ra N, gułiči-điku N

*thin* biňjič N

*throb* đukđuk-u- V5intr,  
đupđub-u- V5intr

*throw* wurđa?-yu- V5tr, đup-u-  
V5intr, ħurka- V6Atr

*tie* ħiňi?-yu- V5tr

*tilt* đulmur-đara- V2intr,  
!u!t-đu- V5intr

*time(s)* malk- Prf

*tired* (đa:-)maybu- V6Bintr,  
yakur?-yu- V5intr

*today* See 'now'

*tomahawk* See 'axe'

*torch* đatul? N

*track* See 'trail'

*trail* đukar N, đurpa N

*trap (fish)* gaňđa?-yu- V5tr

*tree, wood* đarpa N, řaňa? N

*trick* minbu- V6Btr

*true* yaraňu-miri N

*turn over* đudač-u- V5intr

*twist* biyir?-yu- V5tr

*two* bulal-maňji? N

## U

*uncircumcised* gađaku N

*unripe* yi:ku? (see also 'raw')

*up* garwař Adv

## V

*vainly* đu:ku Part

*vegetable food* ħaťa N,  
đakađač N

*voice, sound* đuđi N

*vomit* !urja?-yu- V5intr

## W

*wade* See 'go into water'  
*walkabout* ɲu:li? *N/Adv*  
*walking-stick* baŋɖulu *N*  
*want* ja:l-ɣi- *Vintr*  
*war party* juɾamu *N*  
*warrior* galka? *N*  
*wart* jikar? *N*  
*wash* ɭurgu?-yu- *Vstr*  
*waste* jalkwar-u- *Vstr*  
*water* gapu *N*, gujaɾk *N*  
*wave (ripple)* ñaɭa *N*, yatbuwa *N*  
*wax, cement* galañin? *N*, maŋɖača? *N*  
*weak* ñimbiɭñimbiɭ *N*,  
           ñimbiɭ?-yu- *V5intr*  
*weave* ɖaɾpu- *V6Btr*  
*well (water)* yurum *N*  
*west* ɲaɲi *N*, warara *N*  
*wet* jali? *N*  
*what's-it?* ɖa:wuy *N*, ɖa:yka *N*

*whine* ña-yu- *V5intr*  
*whirlwind* bijuɖu *N*, walari *N*  
*whistle* biru?bir-u- *V5intr*,  
           wiru?wir-u- *V5intr*, wir?wir-u-  
           *V5intr*, wiɾ?-yu- *V5intr*  
*white* baɾič *N*, baɾ-u- *V5intr*,  
           miɭič *N*  
*White (European)* munana *N*  
*wind* balali *N*, ba:ra? *N*,  
           baɭmark *N*, guɖuwuru *N*,  
           jičiɰwuru *N*, ɭuŋgurma *N*, ɲanda *N*  
*winter* See 'cold'  
*woman* ɖiŋ? *N*  
*wood* See 'tree'  
*woomera* baŋɖak *N*, biɖič *N*,  
           gaɭpu *N*, muruku? *N*  
*word, voice* ɖa:wu *N*, ɖa:ɾuk *N*,  
           ɣunal *N*

## Y

*yamstick* ba:ču? *N*, ɖu:ɲa? *N*  
*yesterday* See 'afternoon'  
*young* See 'small'

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